Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov

BULGARIAN CULTURAL NEWS

COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE, ART AND
CULTURE — SOFIA, OCTOBER, 1952

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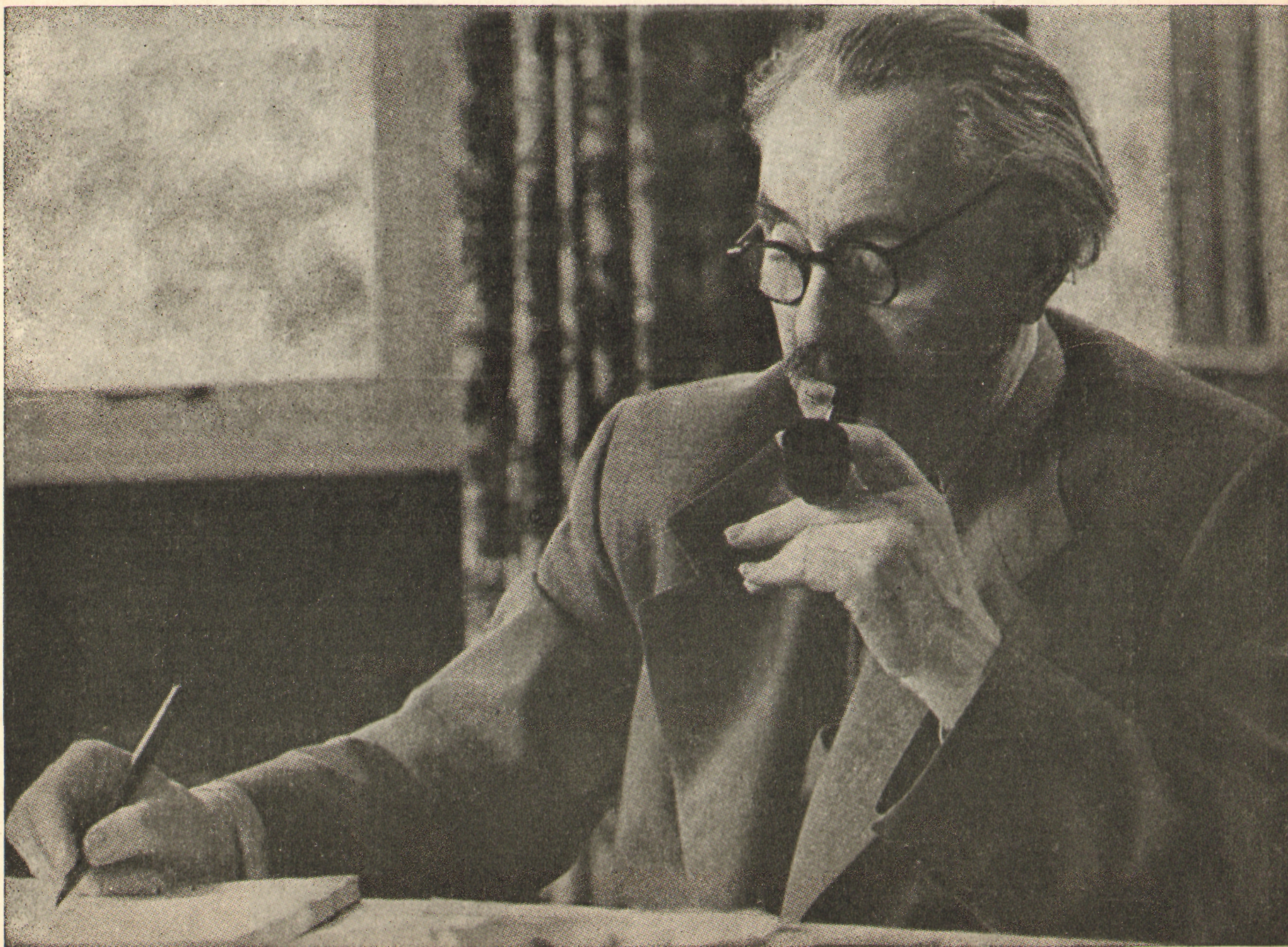
WHICH WAY?

There was a time when the majority of the people working in the field of art (painters, actors, musicians and so on) could — on account of the special character of their work and their prospects of a good personal career — consider themselves, as it were, aristocrats of intellectual labour, and stand completely aloof from the proletariat, from its struggle for existence and movement for liberation.

In those days they were even inclined to feel themselves to be a component part of the ruling class, its favourite offspring, the happy elect of fate, having nothing in common with the exploited and oppressed in present-day society, nor needing to organise and fight in defence of their interests and rights, because they counted on their own talent and the patronage of powerful men of the day and various Maecenas of art.

Steeped to the marrow of their bones in bourgeois individualism and the mentality of supermen, exaggerating the importance of their artistic production, feeling that they were standing firmly on the heights of Parnassus,

Georgi Dimitrov in 1947

they often loved to treat common manual and intellectual workers with disdainful condescension and to thank God (like the scribes and Pharisees of old) that He had not created them in the image and likeness of the "poor in heart", the slaves of capital.

That was how it used to be.

But is there anyone today who does not see and feel that those times have gone forever, in other countries as well as in our own?

Having fully mastered material production, capitalism has laid its heavy hand on the theatre, music, the fine arts and art as a whole. The capitalist principle of gaining the greatest possible profit has become dominant too in the so-called production of spiritual values and goods.

Those working in the field of art have been turned into exploited proletarians, into an object of capitalist exploitation, creators of profits for capital; leaving the blessed heights of Parnassus they have found themselves in the misery and mire of harsh contemporary reality.

The fate of the actors on the stage is bound up not only with that of the prompter unseen by the audience, but also with the fate of the choir and orchestra, of the technicians in the wings and all the other workers in a capitalist theatrical enterprise. The fate of the members of the orchestra in a restaurant is bound up with that of the waiters who serve the public. The fate of the artists in the studio or lithographic and block-making workshop, in one enterprise or another, is bound up with that of the assistant staff, the other workers and so on.

The fate of the former labour "aristocrats" in art is in general ever more closely bound up with the fate of the whole proletariat in the country.

It must also be noted that the destruction caused by the Great War, as well as the grave consequences of the economic crisis provoked by that war, are not only to a considerable extent erasing the old difference between the material and social status of artists and other intellectual workers, but have thrown them into even greater material and social misery and greater insecurity for the morrow than many categories of skilled manual workers.

And if we take into consideration the fact that those who work in the sphere of art, due to the nature of their work, do not perform a mechanical operation but are forced to put their feelings, heart and soul into it, to pour out their inner world, it will readily be understood that apart from material privations they further experience such moral torments as the manual or ordinary intellectual worker does not encounter in his work.

Such is the profound change which has come about in the status of the so-called aristocracy of art workers. This change naturally requires the submission of their individualism to the vital need of collective action for common defence.

The new situation and new times call for *new means*, *new ways*. They imperatively indicate the path of organisation and struggle for the "elect of fate" too, who once reckoned they had no need whatever to organise and fight.

It is an old scientific truth that *being* determines *consciousness*. Experience shows, however, that the change in *consciousness* always comes *after* the change in *being* has already taken place.

The *being* of the actors, musicians, artists and so on has changed considerably, but their *consciousness* for the most part continues to be *old*. They still feel themselves to be as it were, bound, by their navel string to the parasitic bourgeois and alien to the working masses. They are freeing themselves from bourgeois ideology slowly, and from inertia still follow the promptings of individualism and the superman mentality, continue to seek individual means of securing their existence and warding off life's hard blows.

The *old* drags them *back*, whereas life drives them *forward*. Bourgeois prejudices and superstitions hinder them embracing the *new orientation* imposed on them by the change in their being.

So today they find themselves at a crossroads which leads two ways — the *old way* of uncomplaining service of capital in expectation of its beggarly alms, and the *new way* of organised struggle against capitalist exploitation, of the unity of all art workers and their advance together with the proletariat fighting for freedom and happiness.

Finding themselves at this crossroads, most of the workers in the field of art are in the unenviable position of *squint-eyed* persons. With their right eye they turn their hopes and aspirations to their old God — capital, whereas with their *left* eye they irresolutely and hesitantly view the working people who are boldly stepping along the path of proletarian liberation.

Which way? That is the fateful question which in all its sharpness faces every actor, musician and artist, faces the whole proletariat engaged in the various branches of art.

And the great task of the "Artist" journal at the present moment consists precisely in this — to help the mass of art workers *to be-*

come conscious of themselves as ***proletarians;*** to speed the process of bringing their *consciousness* into *harmony* with their already changed *being;* in place of *notorious intellectual individualism* to cultivate the feeling of *solidarity* and the idea of *common action*; to assist all of them the sooner to start along the path of organisation and struggle by means of a general trade union of art workers, the path of unity between the workers with hammer, sickle and pen, between the workers who produce material goods and those who produce spiritual values, the path of the liberation of the whole of working mankind and of art itself from the regime of decaying capitalism.

An extremely difficult and complicated task, indeed. But a task which is worthy of the efforts both of the greatest talents and of the noblest ambitions.

And it must be fulfilled — to save thousands of suffering artists, to save art itself, and so that the great liberating cause of the working world may triumph in our country.

GEORGI DIMITROV

("Artist" journal, 1923)

LITERATURE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

As is well known, the struggle at Leipzig lasted three months. All the rottenness of German fascism in the person of its judges, defenders, court prosecutor, police agents, commissars and other Police chiefs was revealed on the tribune of the Leipzig trial.

The accused themselves constituted a unique political bouquet. Among them were representatives of various kinds of strata, tendencies, types and so on. There were representatives of the revolutionary section of the working class — the revolutionary proletariat, and of the lumpen-proletariat — that slight and at the same time tragic figure van der Lubbe. But there was also a representative of the petty bourgeois elements in the workers' and communist movement, remnants and hang-overs of philistinism, of officialdom in the revolutionary workers' movement: such a classical type was the person well known to us — I could say: our former — comrade Torgler.

Comrades, in this three months' struggle Communism, as is well known, triumphed. Communism triumphed thanks to the world mobilisation of proletarian forces and of all honest intellectual elements; it triumphed because there was, although unofficial, a universally signed pact for a united front of Communist, Social-Democratic and other workers' parties against German fascism. Victory was achieved because in the very midst of the National-Socialist masses a movement of opposition to the provocations of National Socialism was created and clear sympathy with the accused Communists appeared.

I remember how Goering, almighty lord of fascist Germany, arrived in the court with 40—50 stormtroopers and was compelled, after they had removed me from the courtroom, to depart disgraced in the eyes of his own supporters.

At this meeting of Soviet writers may I be allowed to express a certain wonder at the fact that the Leipzig trial, this tremendous material, this colossal capital of revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice of the proletarian movement, has not received even the minimum treatment and utilisation by you. I know some foreign writers who, unfortunate fellows, do not wish to write like bourgeois writers — only about love, only lyrically, only about subjective experiences. They wish to help the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in something. So these unfortunate talents sit down and think, think and search for something to write about. If they had looked at the living struggle of the millions, if they had seen the thousands of trials, strikes, demonstrations, collisions between the workers and their class enemies, if they had looked more deeply into the materials of the Leipzig trial, they would have found subjects. They would have found an abundance of excellent subjects. Take the figure of van der Lubbe.

By the example of van der Lubbe one should show how a worker can become an instrument of the class enemy. By the negative example of van der Lubbe thousands of young workers can be educated and a struggle waged against the influence of fascism among the youth.

I remember what it was in literature that made an especially strong impression on me in the days of my youth. What influenced my character as a fighter? I must say straight out: it was Chernishevsky's book "What Must Be Done?" The endurance which I acquired in the days of my participation in the workers' movement in Bulgaria, the endurance, confidence and thorough steadfastness at the Leipzig trial — all that undoubtedly is connected with Chernishevsky's literary work which I read in my young days.

Where are the heroes of the proletarian movement in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, China and other countries, portrayed in our literature? Where are those examples which millions could follow? Give *negative* examples too, show people of flesh and blood of the type of van der Lubbe, so that the youth may learn from living examples.

Literature has a tremendous role in the matter of training a revolutionary generation. Help us, help the Party of the working class, give us a reliable weapon for the struggle — in art

Georgi Dimitrov reporting on the ralway workers' strike in 1906 to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (Narrow Socialists) Reproduction of the painting by Olga and Georgi Bogdanov

form, in verse, novels and stories! By your creative art help to train cadres of revolutionaries!

In its day the bourgeoisie stoutly fought for the cause of its class with every means, including literature. What made a laughing-stock of the remnants of chivalry? — Cervantes' "Don Quixote". "Don Quixote" was a most powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism, against the aristocracy. The revolutionary proletariat has need of at least a small Cervantes, to provide such an instrument of struggle...

I read a lot, whenever I can. I am bound to say that I do not always have the patience to read our revolutionary literature.

The man who repeats: Long live the revolution! — is not a revolutionary writer. He alone can be counted a revolutionary writer who helps to revolutionise the workers' masses, mobilises them in struggle against the enemy.

You will excuse me if I speak sharply. You did not make my acquaintance yesterday. I call things by their proper names. But I think that since a Union of Soviet Writers was created, you Soviet writers have new conditions, new possibilities for broad and fruitful work.

GEORGI DIMITROV

From a speech at the Soviet Writers' Club, Moscow, 1935

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the antifascist struggle of our Parties is that they *react inadequately and too slowly to the demagogy of fascism,* and to this day continue to neglect the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a variety of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, was capable of gaining a mass influence at all. This was a great mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of wide masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

Under no circumstances must we underrate fascism's power of ideological infection. On the contrary, we for our part must develop an extensive ideological struggle based on clear, popular arguments and a correct, well thought out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in the past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany with only one aim — to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion.

The new-baked National-Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the past two thousand years, by virtue of some historical law, a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread, leading to the appearance on the historical scene of a national "saviour", a "Messiah" of the *German* people, a certain "Corporal" of *Austrian* extraction! In these books the greatest figures of the German people of the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini makes every effort to make capital for himself out of the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national liberation movement of the seventies and its heroes beloved by the people, Vassil Levsky, Stefan Karadja and others.

The Central Military-Revolutionary Committee in session at Mikhailovgrad during the September Uprising in 1923

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses on the past of their people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist, a Leninist-Stalinist spirit, who do nothing *to link up the present struggle with the people's revolutionary traditions and past* — voluntarily hand over to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, that the fascists may dupe the masses.

No, comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of mediaeval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society — the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited, toiling strata, that is, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, on principle,* of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But we *are not supporters of national nihilism,* and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But anyone who thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the wide masses of working people is far from being a genuine Bolshevik, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question.

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem

of national sentiments in his article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians", written in 1914. He wrote:

"Are we class-conscious Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not! We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise *its* labouring masses (i. e. nine-tenths of *its* population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great Russians; that *this midst* advanced Radischev, the Decembrists, the déclassés revolutionaries of the seventies; that in 1905 the Great-Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses... We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class; that it, *too*, has proved capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, great famines and great servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

"We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past... and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity."*

This is what Lenin wrote on national pride. I think, comrades, that when the fascists, at the Leipzig trial, attempted to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarian people, I was not wrong in taking up the defence of the national honour of the working masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist usurpers, the real barbarians and savages, nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class.

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, "acclimatise itself" in each country in order to sink deep roots in its native land. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the *international interests* of the proletariat can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its egoistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not *confine ourselves* to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties, that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are not in contradiction to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify the *salvation of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By *the very fact* of building at the present time its class organisations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism, which is laying violent hands upon it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture and raise it to its highest flowering as a truly national culture — *national in form and socialist in content* — which, under Stalin's leadership, is being realised in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes.

Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures the *support* that is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in closest alliance* with the victorious

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* Lenin, Vol. XVIII (4th Russian edition, 1948)

proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The *sole* road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as Marx taught us, "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

Georgi Dimitrov in the Moabit prison. Reproduction of the painting by the Soviet artist Alexander Gerassimov

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they *do not at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the working masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their "own" bourgeoisie, for the right of complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the working people of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the jingo demagogy of the fascists.

That is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *unquestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism — this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses.

GEORGI DIMITROV

(From the Report to the VIIth World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935)

Leipzig 1933 — Dimitrov Accuses. Photo-montage

TO THE YOUNG READER

Chernishevsky's novel "What Must Be Done?", is so far as I know, not recognised by literary criticism as an artistic work of full value. This novel is not placed among the works of classical Russian literature.

I am not, of course, a specialist on literary questions and do not undertake to judge whether such an evaluation is correct. Yet it is an undisputed fact that Chernishevsky's novel had enormous influence on the revolutionary movement in Russia in the second half of the 19th Century. Entire generations of young revolutionaries were educated by the example of the heroes in "What Must Be Done?" — Rakhmetov, Kirsanov, Lopukhov and Vera Pavlovna — and very often they tried literally to imitate their personal steadfastness, endurance, devotion to the cause of the revolution and irreconcilability to the enemy — those qualities which characterise Chernishevsky's heroes.

As many as 35 years ago the novel "What Must Be Done?" had an unusually deep and inexpressible influence on me personally, a young worker then taking the first steps in the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. And I must say that neither before nor since has any other work of literature so powerfully influenced my revolutionary education as did Chernishevsky's novel. Rakhmetov especially was my favourite. I set myself the aim of bei g steadfast, persevering, fearless, selfless, of steeling my will and character in struggle with difficulties and privations, of subordinating my personal life to the interests of the great cause of the working class — in a word, of being such as this irreproachable hero of Chernishevsky presented himself to me. And for me there is no doubt whatever that precisely this beneficial influence in my youth greatly helped my education as a proletarian and revolutionary and later found expression in my revolutionary struggle in Bulgaria and at the Leipzig trial.

Even now, when I re-read "What Must Be Done?" I experience great emotion and pleasure. What is the explanation of this power, this influence of Chernishevsky's novel? In my opinion the explanation should be sought in the fact that the great revolutionary and publicist, despite all his mistaken political views peculiar to the revolutionary Enlightenment, succeeded in creating fine living images of the new people for that time. They were brave people who did not hesitate, fearless in the face of the enemy, people who did not fear difficulties, who subordinated their personal life to a single great ideal, knew how to tackle a job and as Chernishevsky himself says — "if they tackle a job, they tackle it so firmly *that it does not slip out of their hands.*"

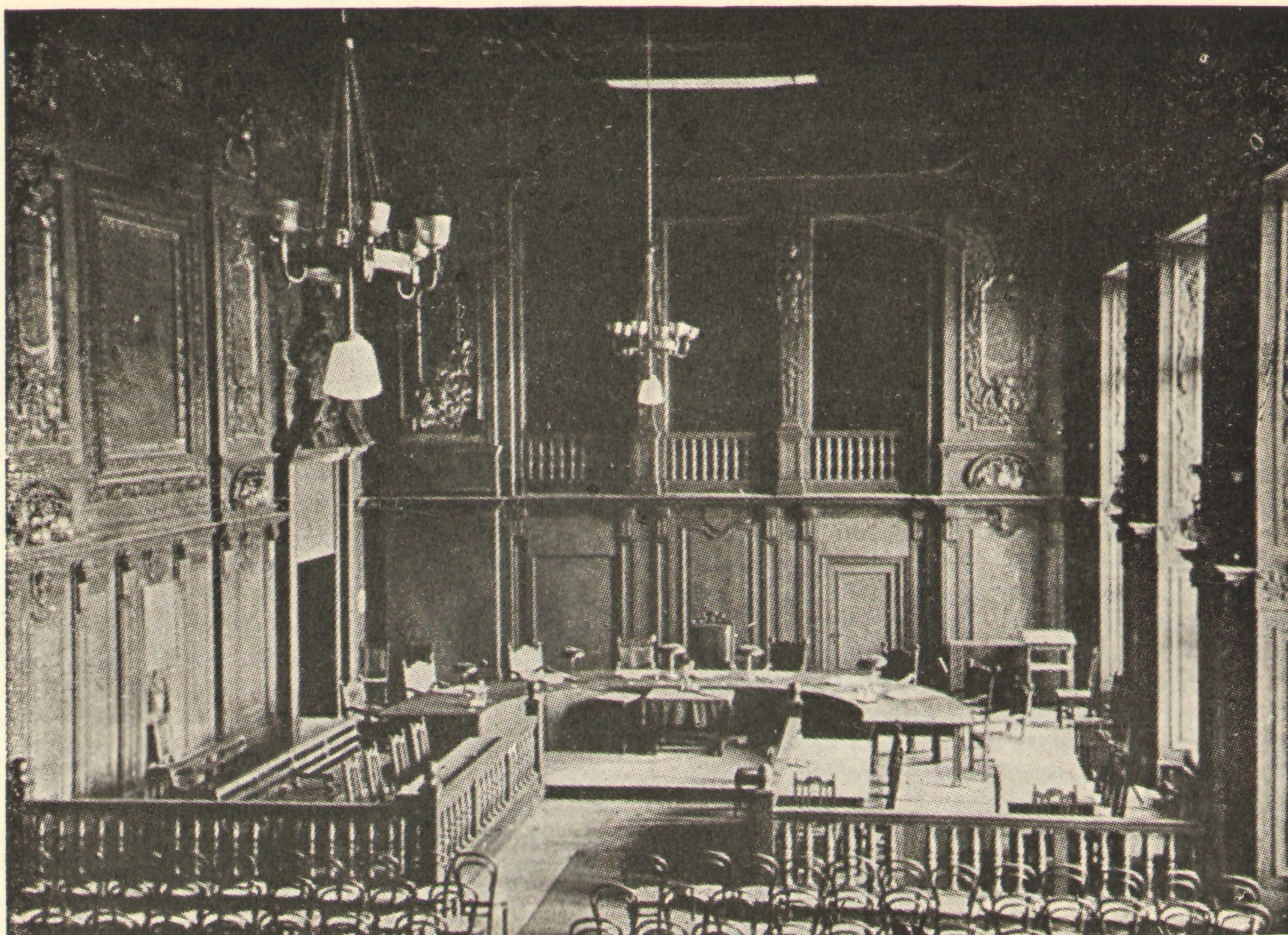
Yes — bravery, selflessness, unexampled heroism and boundless devotion to the revolution — that is what made Chernishevsky's heroes the favourite characters for the young revolutionary generations.

These qualities of the revolutionary, combined with the correct Bolshevik outlook, combined with the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, we now find among the cadres of the million-strong army which under the leadership of the great guide, comrade Stalin, is building socialism, the classless socialist society over one sixth of the globe, and is struggling for the victory of socialism in the capitalist world.

The novel "What Must Be Done?" has not lost its educative significance even today. Reading it with a critical eye, our young people will without doubt not only obtain great pleasure, but also real benefit for their revolutionary education.

It was not in vain that Lenin so strongly loved and so highly valued the revolutionary and writer Chernishevsky.

GEORGI DIMITROV

Preface to the novel "What Must Be Done?" published by the "Young Guard" Publishing House, Moscow, 1935

The Courtroom at Leipzig. Authentic photograph

MAXIM GORKY

The great name of Gorky and his bright memory will forever remain deeply imprinted in the hearts of the working people of all countries, and will inspire them to further struggle until the final victory of socialism throughout the world. In this struggle with a feeling of profound gratitude, they will make use of the enormous literary treasure which the great man left them as the finest and most precious legacy.

Statement on the death of M. Gorky, 1936

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRUE LITERATURE IN NEW BULGARIA

To the Union of Bulgarian Writers

Accept my warm thanks for the greetings you send me.

Now that the liberation war against fascist Germany has concluded victoriously and the peaceful period is beginning, the most favourable opportunities are opened for the creative work of our writers. I would like to believe that Bulgarian writers will utilise these opportunities to the full, for our people need true people's literature as they need bread and air, literature which by its profound truthfulness and high emotional quality will raise the level of culture and ideas, will develop devotion to and love of the people, will strengthen hatred of fascism and of all the people's enemies, will castigate everything rotten and corrupting the healthy national organism (parasitism, vulgar careerism and petty egoistic intriguing), will cleanse the Bulgarian air of the miasma of Great-Bulgarian chauvinism and of all obscuranticism, will spread love of true science, will stimulate heroic feats in the field of labour and culture, in the struggle to defend the people's freedom and rights, will foster the feeling of Slav unity, of international solidarity, and lasting friendship with our liberator, the great Soviet people.

The wonderful heroism of our people's partisans and underground workers in the struggle against the fascists, the valiant participation of the Bulgarian army in the final victorious defeat of fascist Germany, the manly work in the rear in support of the front and the people — all this awaits artistic treatment by the creative pen of true people's writers. At the same time millions of children and young people need good quality children's and young people's literature.

The Union of Writers is called upon to give all-round assistance for the development of true literature in new Bulgaria Upon it rests the task of encouraging real talents in every way, of constantly increasing their number and assisting them to create the necessary conditions for their creative literary activity.

It is likewise a duty of the Union of Writers, with the aid of sound literary criticism, carefully to clear the Bulgarian literary field of pernicious weeds, to cleanse the Bulgarian writers' ranks of good-for-nothings, ungifted persons and every kind of literary huckster.

In this spirit with all my heart I wish Bulgarian writers the very best creative successes.

GEORGI DIMITROV

Moscow, 14 May, 1945

The Leipzig Trial 1933. Authentic photograph

THE NUMEROUS PROGRESSIVE INTELLIGENTSIA IS A VITAL NECESSITY FOR BULGARIA

To Bulgarian Students

Dear comrades, I cordially thank you for the militant greetings of our people's students. I rejoice with all my heart at your promise — to master true science well and place it at the service of our fine people; to contribute all your forces to the struggle against Great-Bulgarian chauvinism and German fascism, to work devotedly and selflessly for the real progress of our homeland. It is, of course, a very serious promise, not an easy one, a much binding one, but there is no reason for us to doubt that Bulgaria's people's students will be able to and shall fulfil it, for it engages the personal, civic and national honour of every true people's student.

Never has democratic Bulgaria had such an acute need of a numerous, honest, patriotic intelligentsia, deeply bound to the people — in the first place to the workers and peasants — and ever better mastering progressive science, as in the present historic days, in the era of the Fatherland Front. Such an intelligentsia is needed so that the fascist enemy may be defeated in the quickest way, so that once and for all an end may be made with the fascist legacy, so that the plague of Great-Bulgarian chauvinism may be torn up by the roots and, resting on the patriotic unity of the people, a new free, independent and strong Bulgaria may be steadily built up, in fraternal alliance with the people of new Yugoslavia, in sincere co-operation with our neighbours and with the great Western democratic powers, in lasting, indestructible friendship with the mighty Soviet Union.

The people's students are called upon to fill with fresh new forces the ranks of this intelligentsia which the people and the country need. The basic task of BONS (Bulgarian General National Students Union) consists precisely in that — an extremely noble task for whose fulfilment neither labour nor efforts, nor the necessary sacrifices should be spared.

Dear friends, I wish you success in your studies and work and in your struggle on the side of the people against their open and concealed treacherous enemies. I warmly shake your hand!

Yours,
GEORGI DIMITROV

Moscow, 23 April, 1945

FINE CADRES, YOUNG, ALERT AND PROMISING ARE GROWING UP

It was a great misfortune for us, for the Bulgarian people and for the working class that in the past the upholders of bourgeois society succeeded in instilling in certain circles lack of faith in the forces of the people. Especially the fascists did this. Their thesis was: "Ours is a small country, our people are not numerous, we can do nothing alone; we must bow our heads; we cannot create our own national industry, we cannot develop a modern agriculture; we cannot have a strong army, we are a weak, small people!" They did this in order to sell, and they sold, the fruits of our labour, the wealth of our country, holding the people in subjection. In certain circles even to this day there is insufficient faith in the forces of our people. When the sky darkens, when a storm approaches, confusion at once sets in among them, especially among the intelligentsia: school youth, students, teachers and professors. Faith in the forces of the working class, of the peasants, faith in the forces of our people must be developed, must grow more deeply in the soul, in

the heart of the people and their youth. This faith must be strengthened every day. Constant explanatory and educational work is needed to this end. The conviction must also be affirmed that a small people can take their fate into their own hands if they are not influenced by harmful defeatist promptings of foreign agents; that they can be respected even by the great democratic powers if they have faith in their own forces and hold stoutly to their national freedom and independence.

The intelligentsia, especially in countries like our own, has a very important part to play. New Bulgaria is beginning to carry out large and considerable state, economic and cultural construction on democratic principles. It is a difficult aud complicated process. It cannot be completed successfully and in the shortest possible period of time without the active and most devoted participation of the technical and scientific intelligentsia, as well as of the workers in the sphere of culture. We have not, however, sufficiently valued this intelligentsia even in the Party, especially during the left-sectarian period when certain comrades considered that in general the intelligentsia was rotten and nothing of importance could be expected from it. Previously, too, there were strong suspicions with regard to the intelligentsia. Upon the creation of our Party it was in part a way of safeguarding the militant character of the Party, because more alien and careerist elements could penetrate into our ranks from among the intelligentsia. But in the present conditions, when the Party has been consolidated, when it has become also a ruling party and when, on the other hand, a process of differentiation has taken place and continues to take place in the midst of the intelligentsia itself in consequence of the hard battles and great events experienced, a completely new attitude to the intelligentsia is necessary. The intelligentsia, its healthy part, the most capable specialists, scholars, men of culture and the arts, must either be directly in our ranks or co-operate with us and our allies in the Fatherland Front.

Changes in the midst of the intelligentsia do not take place so easily, it re-organises itself with much greater difficulty, and for that reason more efforts are necessary. A suit can be altered in 24 hours, but the brain turns slowly. An inner struggle must take place in every person who has once mastered an incorrect outlook, in order to free himself of it. There must be a battle of ideas and also the influence and help of the collective. The process of re-educating certain strata of the intelligentsia must be carried through to the end. And here the R.M.S. (Young Worker's League) has a broad and very noble field for work. It must not however be forgotten that the intelligentsia is re-educated with difficulty.

It is easier to re-educate a worker or peasant with a sound natural intelligence, because his head is not filled with various formal logical constructions and sophistries and is more easily able to grasp the sound logic of life. But when a person has a certain outlook and his own views, particularly if they are sectarian, he must work on himself, he needs help from the organisation, and criticism — practical, comradely criticism and self-criticism.

The work among the school youth, students and among the intelligentsia in general must be set on sounder, more correct foundations than hitherto. One must not speak of a "rotten" intelligentsia, but should work with argument and persuasion to win for the cause of the Fatherland Front those who in one way or another have been under the influence of fascist ideology and its various manifestations. This is more difficult than ordinary agitation, but is absolutely necessary.

In general, in order to influence that part of the intelligentsia which is not with us, we must have our own intelligentsia of a high standard. For that reason our Leaguers, our cadres must be well-armed ideologically. Our Marxist science gives us that possibility. In studying it, of course, it must not be mastered word by word, as in the case of those people who know whole pages of Marxist works by heart, but make mistakes at every step. It is not cramming of Marxist books that is needed, but mastery of what is fundamental in our Marxist science, mastery of the dialectical method of thinking and of explaining events. If we master well and succeed in applying in our work of explaining current events, what our great teacher Stalin has written on dialectical and historical materialism in Chapter IV of the History of the C. P. S. U. (B), then we shall have in our hands a compass to point to us in which direction to go.

Many people say: There's no time for reading, there's a lot of work to do. That is true, but not entirely. The work must be so organised that our workers may read not a great deal in quantity but what is essential for arming them with an ideological weapon needed in their creative work and struggle. Young people have an alert mind and are thirsty for knowledge, but they must not try to make their heads universal stores with a tremendous quantity of the most varied, disconnected learning. All knowledge must be linked in a system, must constitute an integral

A scene from the play "Leipzig 1933" by L. Kompaneyets and L. Kronfeld produced at the National Theatre, Sofia

outlook, a guide to action by means of which we not only explain what exists but can also change what exists into something better. Such learning, such a training is especially necessary for the cadres. In our movement there are workers who do not possess as much knowledge as a professor – the latter knows history and philosophy, he is a scholar. Our worker may not know everything in detail, although that may be desirable, but he must know what is needed for leading, for solving tasks, for being able to foresee the direction in which he must go. His knowledge may be less in quantity yet in quality surpass that of a man of average education. Let us take for example both Lenin and Stalin. If Lenin and Stalin succeeded in becoming such leaders and teachers of genius as we know them to be, then apart from everything else (individual qualities), it was also because they never separated theory from practice. For instance Lenin not only wrote great works but also engaged in the building of Soviet power and the building up of the Bolshevik Party. He engaged in the smallest tasks. He even found time to listen to the peasant who came from Siberia to Moscow, because he knew that from the peasant he could find out what was happening among the population in the particular province.

It is not a good thing to admit many students into few buildings. Yet the thirst for knowledge is very great and the candidates are many, so there must be a selection of students, there must be competition. And to enable the several thousand others who remain outside the university to obtain a higher education, evening or Sunday universities must be opened. Material assistance to students must also be organised. With this in view Professor Balamezov has proposed that a student city be established. I understand there is a site and that it only remains to build the accomodation. The granting of funds for the

construction may be decided by the National Assembly.

Our students must study very persistently. The students who do not study well, are not good Leaguers. Tomorrow they will not be good doctors, engineers, good agronomists and so on, yet we need good specialists. Let the number of meetings be reduced, let fewer, but better prepared and organised meetings be held, to give our students the possibility of studying. How the lawyers, medical and all students are studying must be known precisely. If it is noticed that a certain student treats his study superficially, let a decision be taken that the man or woman student in question should pass his examination with excellent marks within a period of one, two or three months, and if he does not do that — let him be censured. Strict discipline is needed. Nothing goes well without discipline. In order to be active workers in the university, members of the League and the Party must be good students. In order to realise this practically, the work must be distributed among more people. Incorrect distribution of work is a great shortcoming. Many people consider themselves irreplaceable, whereas in life every one is replaceable, although sometimes not so successfully. Some people consider that only they can best do the work, are afraid of giving work to weaker persons and involuntarily, without wishing it, bar the way to the promotion of new cadres. The Bolsheviks wage a very serious and systematic struggle against that and mercilessly castigate such shortcomings.

Extract from a talk by Georgi Dimitrov to members of the Central Committee of the Young Workers' League. Published in "Youth" magazine, January 1946.

THE DEED OF SEPTEMBER 9 IS A HISTORIC DEED

...But, apart from anything else, the realisation of the Fatherland Front programme also presupposes the existence of trained leading cadres in all spheres of state, economic and cultural construction. That is why one of the great concerns of the Government and the National Assembly must be to secure broad possibilities for the training of such cadres. Fatherland Front Bulgaria needs ever fresh detachments of engineers, technicians, doctors, nurses, midwives, agronomists, teachers, judges and other administrative and cultural workers. A task of our general, trade and other specialised educational institutions and of our universities is to provide these cadres by adapting their whole teaching and educational work to this end.

From our educational institutions must come servants of the people educated in a democratic spirit and at the same time trained specialists, masters of their work. Bulgaria must have at its disposal an industrious, highly qualified intelligentsia deeply devoted to the people. Without such an intelligentsia our country will not be able to advance along the path of progress. They are proud of the tremendous role which the people's intelligentsia played in the cause of September Ninth and continues to play in the construction of new Bulgaria. But they demand and have the right to demand of all men of science, culture and art that they should not yield to the temptations to which reaction subjects them, but should fulfil to the utmost their patriotic duty to the people and the country.

GEORGI DIMITROV

From a speech in the National Assembly, December 25, 1945

"The Hero of Leipzig". Sculptured figure by Prof. Ilia Petrov and Ivan Mandov

The cover of the "Brown Book" in German

The cover of the "Brown Book" in Bulgarian

HRISTO BOTEV IS A BANNER WHICH WILL FLY EVER HIGHER OVER NEW DEMOCRATIC BULGARIA

A consistent democrat and republican, a convinced implacable enemy of political and spiritual obscuranticism and pernicious chauvinism, a passionate supporter of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, for an alliance between the South Slavs and fraternal co-operation between the Balkan and all other freedom-loving peoples, a poet of genius of the struggle for people's freedom and national independence, Hristo Botev was the most talented and far-sighted leader of Bulgaria's national liberation movement in the past century.

The popular democratic and republican trend represented by Botev, and earlier by Vassil Levsky, Lyuben Karavelov and Georgi Benkovsky, was not, however, realised because of the anti-people's policy of the large-scale capitalist and plunderous clique headed by the Coburg dynasty, which after Liberation took a leading place in the social-political and state life of Bulgaria, led our country to two great national catastrophes and in 1944 brought it face to face with a third, even more terrible catastrophe.

The democratic and republican cause of Hristo Botev and our Renaissance leaders was continued by the people themselves in their political, social, economic and cultural organisations, and that cause triumphed in the victory of the Fatherland Front on September 9, 1944, in the home and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front Government now being carried out.

Our great national hero, revolutionary and poet Hristo Botev is and remains the supreme example for the Bulgarian people, for their youth, for their people's students. In the present struggle for democracy, a People's Republic and national independence, for the progress and rise of our nation, Hristo Botev is a ban-

ner which will fly ever higher over new democratic Bulgaria.

Let us love our people as Hristo Botev boundlessly loved them!

Let us serve our people as Hristo Botev disinterestedly and selflessly served them!

Let us fight against the people's enemies as Hristo Botev fearlessly fought!

Eternal glory to the great Hristo Botev, hitherto unsurpassed by any Bulgarian and who continues to live and shall live in the hearts and souls of all Bulgarian patriots!

GEORGI DIMITROV

"Rabotnichesko Delo"
June 3, 1946

ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE "PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT" JOURNAL

Reply to Questions from the Editors

As is well known, unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of receiving an academic education. Yet in my practical social and political activity in service of the working class and the Bulgarian people, long ago, already in my youth, I felt that correct socialist and political activity of full value was impossible without mastery of the basic theses of science on the development of nature and society, and of the achievements of philosophy. So eagerly and persistently, overcoming colossal difficulties, I began to study the most important works of some of the ancient Greek philosophers as well as the most modern European philosophers, such as Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach and several other representatives of the materialist and idealist philosophical schools, and especially the works of Marx and Engels, of Plekhanov, Lenin and Stalin. This study increasingly convinced me that full co-ordination of practice and theory is absolutely necessary, because practice without theory is blind, whereas theory without practice is barren. That is especially true for the working class, which has the historical task not only of explaining existing circumstances correctly and scientifically, but also of radically changing these existing circumstances in its favour and to the benefit of its people. Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice, as the great Lenin and together with him, his continuer, the great Stalin, stressed many times.

To the questions put to me I can answer mainly on the basis of my own experience over many years.

In my opinion the "Philosophical Thought" journal is extremely necessary in our country. One may even say that it has appeared with a certain delay. An enormous role faces it. In my modest opinion and as I understand its tasks, especially in the period at hand, together with the basic, permanent task — to throw a sound bridge between advanced philosophy and the people — in particular, their intelligentsia, to make the achievements of philosophic thought generally known to the people by extricating philosophy from the lecture-rooms and bringing it into the midst of the living practical life of our country — these tasks of "Philosophical Thought" may be formulated briefly as follows:

First. To expose and assist in every way the final eradication of fascist ideology (racism, the theory of the domination of "superior" over "inferior" races, the Führer principle, the theory of the superman, our Great-Bulgarian chauvinism). We must not forget that without the liquidation of fascist ideology, against which a still weak ideological struggle is being waged in our universities, in our literature and culture, we shall not be able utterly to destroy all remnants of the fascist regime in the social and political life of our country. Fascist ideology in the past struck deep roots in the minds especially of a part of the Bul-

garian intelligentsia, and the cleansing of this poison is not so simple and easy a task.

Second. To expose and castigate fascist falsification of history in general, and of our own Bulgarian history. Our historical literature, textbooks from which student and other youth learn the history of our people are full of extremely harmful distortions and gross falsifications. "Philosophical Thought" faces very noble creative and critical work in this respect. It is necessary to work out and popularise as soon as possible a scientific Marxist criterion for the correct explanation of the important periods and great event in the history of our people, especially during the last century, this being made clearly and convincingly on the basis of a scientific analysis of the historical facts themselves. Not for nothing do we stress that our best teacher for the present and the future is correctly understood history and the utilisation of its rich treasury of valuable lessons. As bread and air we need *our own Marxist philosophy of our history.*

Third. "Philosophical Thought" must help our people's intelligentsia and above all the worker and peasant intelligentsia and their youth to work out a sound scientific Marxist outlook, to master the essence of Marxist philosophy in its most modern form — Leninism, *the Marxist dialectical method,* not only as the surest instrument for the correct explanation of the past and present, but also *as a guide to action* for solving the great and complicated tasks of the present moment and advancing the progressive development of our country. The whole experience of the international workers' movement, especially the experience during the Second World War, shows visually the tremendous importance of spreading the theses of the dialectical method in the study of social life, in the study of the history of society and the laws of social development, the tremendous importance of these theses especially for the practical activity of the working class and its Party.

Fourth. "Philosophical Thought" should make a considerable contribution to the struggle against the various rotten, retrograde idealist philosophical schools and currents which serve the rebirth of fascism and constitute ideological weapons of reaction against the rise of people's democracy. At the same time the journal ought concretely and with arguments to castigate every attempt to distort living and creative militant Marxism. and just as painstakingly treat from a Marxist viewpoint the new problems on the ideological front bound up with the Fatherland Front period through which our country is now living, and its tendencies and perspectives of development. In precisely this sense the "Philosophical Thought" journal also faces the task of undertaking the treatment of the basic methodological questions of every separate science and especially of those which are more directly bound up with the economic, social and cultural construction of the People's Republic.

Fifth. The "Philosophical Thought" journal also has another important task. It must methodically encourage in our country the raising of interest in the problems of philosophy and the love of science, by its entire activity must stimulate young workers eager for knowledge to zealous and persistent self-education and in every way, concretely and practically, help in this direction.

Of course, a very important condition for the successful fulfilment of its tasks is that "Philosophical Thought" should be written in a popular style accessible to the average reader, i. e. those with secondary or higher education. It is not true that it is impossible to write plainly, clearly and understandably on philosophical and other theoretical questions. The best example in this respect is afforded us by the great classics of Marxism — Lenin and Stalin. But for that it is necessary that the authors themselves should continually work on themselves, take much greater pains, whenever they write have in view the reader for whom they are writing, and in particular fully free themselves from the harmful routine of bougeois philosophers who, assuming great scholarly importance, usually write intentionally in a language inaccessible to the average reader, destining their "works" for "specialists", for the chosen "elite of the spiritual aristocracy".

It also seems to me that the editors of "Philosophical Thought" should have a noble ambition in the course of time of turning into a laboratory, though a modest one, of scientific philosophical thought in our country, by grouping around it the most capable scientific forces devoted to the people, and of becoming a school for the promotion and education of the fresh young Marxist cadres in Bulgarian science so vitally necessary for new Bulgaria.

I cannot but point out that the role of "Philosophical Thought" is an exceptionally difficult and responsible one. It makes very high and serious demands of the editors and their collaborators — knowledge, ability, tremendous methodical labour and strict self-criticism with the aim of ever improving and perfecting the journal.

As regards the relations between "Philosophical Thought" and the "Contemporary" I will say that these two journals can in no

Georgi Dimitrov at home

circumstances be rivals. On the contrary, they have — each separately — their particular tasks, *but tasks which are mutually complimentary.* It must not be lost to view that the "Contemporary", as a theoretical and political organ of the Workers' Party (Communists), is above all an operative and directive fortnightly organ on current events and predominantly on the current problems of the Party, of the Fatherland Front and our people in general.

In conclusion, allow me to express my great joy at the publication of "Philosophical Thought" and with all my heart to wish its editors the very best success.

GEORGI DIMITROV

15 September, 1946

THE IMPORTANT TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBRARY CLUBS

Talk to the Managing Council of the Central Library Club Union

I must emphasise that we should consider our people's library clubs to be one of the most important public cultural organisations. They have historical services — they have made an extremely great contribution to the cultural raising of our people and to the self-education and training of our youth. They now face an even greater role.

Their systematic fight against ignorance and spiritual darkness is now more necessary than at any other time, for ignorance and spiritual darkness are the most loyal collaborators of reaction.

After the elections for a Great National Assembly, as you yourselves have noticed, we are entering on an even more important stage of our social and cultural development. With the working out and passing of the new Constitution — the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Great National Assembly will consolidate the achievements in the social, economic and cultural life of our country and open up new possibilities for the flowering of our people's creative work and people's initiative. The stabilisation of the internal situation, of the democratic regime in our country, will enable the Fatherland Front, its Government and all progressive public and cultural workers to pay much greater attention and effort to work on our cultural front, and in this connection a considerable share falls to the people's library clubs. The people's library clubs must be given the widest public and state aid for the fulfilment of their important cultural and educational tasks. The successes we shall have in this sphere will, of course, above all depend on those working in the people's library clubs. I am confident that all those working in our people's library clubs are aware that here a sharp change must be made in respect of the past, and a start be made along a broad, though steep, path of cultural development.

A considerable improvement of the functions of the people's library clubs lies ahead, especially of the work of the reading-rooms as well as the contents of the libraries. But these functions must be also extended. It will not be sufficient to be content with reading-rooms and libraries alone. That is a basic task of the library clubs as a factor for people's self-education, but is far from enough. In co-operation with other cultural and educational institutions many other forms and means must be found in our country by which Bulgaria's cultural virgin soil may be ploughed up and sown with good seeds, so that we may obtain a rich harvest from it in the near future.

The work of our people's library clubs in the villages is more difficult and complicated, but fresh and even greater efforts must be made to enlighten our fellow-countrymen in the villages and especially the village youth who thirst for knowledge and a sound progressive education. The great experience which the people's library clubs have acquired must be studied and utilised in that direction.

Facsimile of a letter from Romain Rolland to Georgi Dimitrov, March 29, 1934

Suisse
Villeneuve (Vaud) villa Olga
29. mars 1934

Cher camarade Georgi Dimitroff

Je vous remercie cordialement de votre lettre, qui m'est parvenue le 27. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien nous sommes heureux de vous savoir à Moscou. Pendant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, nous nous sentions constamment oppressés par la pensée que vous étiez aux mains des ennemis, résolus à vous perdre. La magnifique vaillance de votre attitude a plus fait que tous nos efforts, pour vous sauver. Elle a eu de si profonds retentissements dans l'esprit du monde, que les ennemis, intimidés, ont

The tasks which face the Congress of Library Clubs are very important. On the basis of sober criticism and the utilisation of experience up to date, the Congress must provide an even sounder and more solid basis for the forthcoming activity of the people's library clubs and their Union. It is very important that the question of co-ordinating the cultural and educational activity of the people's library clubs with the other organisations and institutions which also engage in this activity, should be settled.

There is no greater satisfaction and moral contentment for public workers than to work in this most noble sphere which is of benefit to the people. I must tell you frankly that if I were not a political worker, I would have devoted myself wholeheartedly to cultural educational activity.

Up to September 9 in the field of people's education and in the field of culture Augean stables were created in our country in which much rubbish, decay and putrid matter accumulated. These Augean stables must be cleaned out as soon as possible, so that we may confidently go forward.

There must be an iron ideological broom to clear out all that is decayed, fascist, reactionary, obscurantist, poisoning the air of our cultural front. All remnants of fascist ideology and Great-Bulgarian chauvinism which still continue to exist, especially in a section of school youth, must be destroyed.

The people's library clubs and their Union, of course, cannot hold aloof from this great task on our cultural front.

GEORGI DIMITROV

9 November 1946

Georgi Dimitrov presenting the report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International 1935

ON THE FESTIVAL DAY OF SOFIA UNIVERSITY

I cordially greet Bulgarian students and the professorial body on the festival day of Sofia University. For the rise of our people and the all-round advance of our People's Republic we need a large number of highly qualified cadres who are devoted to the people, for all spheres of state, social-political, economic and cultural life. These cadres are forged at our universities and above all at Sofia University.

The Government of our young People's Republic, however poor it may be, shall continue to offer the University the broadest material co-operation, because it is deeply convinced that expenditure in this respect is productive expenditure of benefit to the people. But success shall not depend on that alone. The main element lies in the hands of the students and professors.

Serious study is needed. Labour, forces and time must not be spared in order to master the achievements of science. Persistent daily preparation is needed for service of full value to the people. A merciless struggle must be waged against intellectual sloth, against moral corruption, as well as against the formal passing of terms. Let students never forget that the best years for study and training are their student years. And it is of precisely these years that they must make the fullest serious and intelligent use.

The professors themselves, who teach their branches of science, should continue to study and perfect themselves. An end must be put to the rotten practice of reading one and the same stereotype lectures year after year. The university must be a hearth of advanced science — a laboratory of constantly developing scientific thought and a nursery of true patriotism. It must serve as a link uniting science with the vital needs of the people and especially of the national economy.

Correct co-operation between students and progressive professors must help to raise our *Alma Mater* to the greatest possible height — for the good of our homeland.

With all my heart I wish the students and professors the very best success in this respect.

GEORGI DIMITROV

8 December, 1946

THE ROLE OF THE ARTISTS

To the Congress of the Union of Artists

I sincerely thank you for your greetings and wishes. At the same time allow me to emphasise that the Fatherland Front and its Government look upon art as a powerful spiritual and cultural factor for developing all the creative forces of our people for the building up and advance of our young People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The role of progressive Bulgarian artists in this respect is a great and very noble one. This role may be successfully fulfilled on several obligatory conditions. The chief of these conditions are undoubtedly: joint work of artists, submission of narrow individualist strivings and tendencies to the general interests of people's art. freedom for artistic creation, sound constructive criticism and self-criticism, the widest encouragement of gifted workers in the field of art and last but not least, devotion, unbounded devotion to our Fatherland Front homeland.

Greeting the Congress delegates and all other men of art in our country, I wholeheartedly wish you the very best creative successes.

GEORGI DIMITROV

11 February, 1947

Georgi Dimitrov in the U.S.S.R.

THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORKERS IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RISE OF THE COUNTRY

Letter to the Congress of the Union of Educational Workers

I cordially thank you for your greetings. For my part I warmly greet the efforts of the Congress to outline the future activity of the Union in the spirit of the great tasks which face our People's Republic.

Educational workers constitute a numerous army of people's educators and cultural workers in our country, acting directly among the people and its growing generations. Not only the education and upbringing of hundreds of thousands of school youth, but also the economic and cultural advance of our nation largely depend on the work of this extremely important army, whose weapon is progressive science and people's culture.

It goes without saying that, in order to fulfil their high calling as people's educators, teachers must be considered not as ordinary officials, but as social and cultural workers devoted to their homeland. Unfortunately there are teachers who still stand aloof from the wonderful creative, economic, spiritual and cultural upsurge of our people and their youth under the leadership of the Fatherland Front.

It must be understood that a person who is not himself cultured, cannot be a bearer of culture among the population. A person who is not himself educated cannot educate others successfully. A person who has not freed himself from retrogression, cannot be a propagator of the ideas and principles of progressive science. A person who is himself at a low ideological and political level, cannot successfully work for the correct ideological

Georgi Dimitrov's mother, his sister Magdalena and the mother of J. V. Stalin

J. V. Stalin and Georgi D'mitrov in 1936

and political education of the schoolchildren and working people in towns and villages. A teacher who does not work constantly to increase his knowledge and raise his pedagogical qualifications, cannot be a people's educator, a social and cultural worker of full value.

Our study-loving people sincerely love and highly respect the workers in the sphere of people's education.

With all my heart I wish that all those workers may worthily and fully justify the people's sincere love and high respect.

The Government is well aware of the difficult conditions in which our educational workers live and work, and you may be fully conviced that it does not cease and shall not cease to do everything possible to improve these conditions. It follows and will continue to follow with the greatest interest what is happening in teachers' circles, as well as the activity of individual teachers, and with sincere joy will note their efforts and successes for the good of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

GEORGI DIMITROV

April 8, 1947

PERSISTENT WORK IS NECESSARY

Greetings pronounced at the Gala Evening Concert of Young Amateur Ensembles

I cordially thank the democratic youth in all spheres in our country for the greetings which they have sent me.

You have given us today great satisfaction and great joy by your amateur performances We know our young people, we know that they are good, industrious, brave and militant; but that they could give us such items as they have now presented us, this we were convinced of only after we had seen them. The creative achievements of the young Septemvriiche children and of the older lads and girls deserve especially serious attention. Our youth are a great reservoir from which our people's culture must draw fresh talented forces in the sphere of art, theatre, opera and music.

I wish you success in this direction, but would like to turn your attention to one thing: you should not grow dizzy with success, each one of you should not think he is a poet or writer, a talented violinist or composer, opera singer and artist. You must bear in mind that persistent work is necessary for every gift to develop and attain full value. There are no gifts which fall like manna from heaven. Even the most gifted people can give nothing if they do not tirelessly labour, if they do not work on themselves, perfect themselves. You are young, healthy, strong and winged, only one thing is necessary: that you have the desire and firm resolve to study, to perfect yourselves, to go forward.

Our main hope for the building up of the People's Republic of Bulgaria — remember this well — rests above all on our young people, on our democratic youth, and in the second place — on the women in our country. The working class is a necessary, a very important factor, the peasants, economic workers and people's intelligentsia are also very important factors, but the building up of our People's Republic and our future depends chiefly on two special factors: on the young people, who are a new generation and who will push development ahead, and on the women, who are mothers of our children, comrades of our fighters, companions-in-arms of the builders of the People's Republic, who in themselves, by their nature as women and girls, are best in a position to inspire feats of labour, sacrifice for the homeland and the development of all virtues among our people.

Please convey warm greetings to all young boys and girls, to your parents, to the widows and orphans of the heroes who fell for the freedom and independence of our country, from the Government of the Fatherland Front and from Georgi Dimitrov personally.

Long live our democratic youth! May it gain strength, develop and fulfil its historic role in building up the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

GEORGI DIMITROV

May 27, 1947

EXHORTATION TO ARTISTS

Both I myself as well as our Government have a special attitude to art in general and to artists in particular. This attitude profoundly differs from that of the Governments up to September 9. We consider that in the system of all factors and measures which are to raise our country economically, culturally and in a military political way, art in all its forms represents a serious and very important factor. We view art not only as a means of obtaining higher pleasures for man — of course, that is necessary and we do not underestimate it. We view art in all its forms above all as a means for mobilising the moral, spiritual and physical forces of our people and their youth for creation, tireless labour, for undying love of the homeland, for readiness to overcome difficulties, for steeling their will and faith in their own forces. Our nation, although small, has such potential forces that if they are developed sufficiently — and we are convinced that they will be developed — it will be able to rival the very greatest nations in the field of culture and art. We already have individual art workers who are not inferior to those of other cultural countries. If these workers of ours receive even better conditions for creative work, some of them will be able to compete with the most notable art workers in the world. It is precisely because we are a small country that we should have a great ambition as a people to produce the best possible scholars, builders, workers in art and so on.

We attach very great importance to the portrayal of the new type of youth in the construction brigades, the new type of shock workers, in general the portrayal of the labour upsurge which is spreading throughout the country. We attach great importance to the embodiment of the militant heroic feats of the partisans in their struggle against fascism up to September 9 and of the fighters in the Patriotic War after that. This does not mean, however, that you should not paint pictures, landscapes of nature and not produce portraits which give true pleasure, not develop love of nature and of beneficial, life-creating intellectual labour. All this must in my opinion be combined in the general treasury for promoting art in the service of our nation as one of the factors which educates and gives a forward impetus to all that is honest and noble.

Tireless labour, joint work, comradely criticism and sincere self-criticism — there lies the chief guarantee of your successes.

To the Managing Council of the Union of Artists in Bulgaria on the occasion of their visit to comrade Georgi Dimitrov in 1947

Georgi Dimitrov visiting the exhibition in Sofia of works by Soviet artists A. Gerassimov, S. Gerassimov, A. Deineka and A. Plastov, February 22, 1948

Georgi Dimitrov with Bulgarian political leaders in Moscow, 1944

THE CULTURAL UPSURGE AFTER SEPTEMBER 9

The cultural upsurge of our country assumed a great extent after September 9: new state, municipal, library club and other public theatres were opened. There are amateur theatrical stages in many villages. Seven new symphony orchestras, hundreds of amateur choirs and string orchestras were established after September 9, and about 4,000 amateur groups embrace over 200 000 young and older workers, peasants, students and schoolchildren. Remarkable talents are appearing from their midst. Thousands of study circles for self-education and courses for technical qualification exist.

Literature is being re-organised with a view to reflecting our new reality truthfully and in artistic form and serving as an important means for the patriotic and democratic education of the people, for mobilising and correctly directing its creative upsurge.

The Fatherland Front has succeeded in rallying under its banner the great majority of the intelligentsia and has inspired it to devoted work for the people's state, for its all-round prosperity.

One of the best indications of the true people's democratic character of the administration of the Fatherland Front is the undis-

puted fact that all elements that are really talented and capable of creative work among the Bulgarian intelligentsia are either actively participating in the construction of our People's Republic or co-operating in this construction according to their powers and capacities. Who could deny the remarkable fact that in our country one cannot find a single really valuable worker in science, art and culture standing aloof from the great creative cause of the Fatherland Front!

What valuable and talented scientific and cultural workers were to be found in the ranks of the reactionary opposition which was rejected by the people and routed?

GEORGI DIMITROV

From the Report to the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front 2-3 February, 1948

WORK AND STRUGGLE ON THE CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Georgi Dimitrov makes the concluding speech at the V Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, December, 1948

The fulfilment of the economic tasks, comrades, is intimately connected with raising the cultural and ideological level of the Bulgarian people. Special attention should be paid to the cultural advance and ideological and political education of the working people's masses in town and country and of the working intelligentsia, in a socialist spirit.

We must always keep in view the fact that the work and struggle on the cultural and ideological front is of first-rate importance for eradicating the rotten legacy of capitalism, for overcoming bureaucracy and parasitism, for increasing labour productivity, for fulfilling the Five-Year Plan and in general for the successful advance of our country along the road of socialism...

* * *

The socialist development of our country is a prerequisite for the solution of our population problem. During the next Five-Year Plans the Bulgarian people will reach the figure of 10 millions through increase of the birth-rate and decrease in child mortality. Thus our people will finally establish themselves as a healthy and virile nation, building up their own culture national in form and socialist in content, and making their contribution to the treasury of human culture.

GEORGI DIMITROV

From the Political Report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers Party (Communists) to the V Congress, December 19, 1948

FOR ALL-ROUND FLOURISHING OF BULGARIA'S SOCIALIST CULTURE

Comrades, I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting you this evening in such a setting, on the occasion of the jubilee of our beloved Adriana Budevska. The performance which has been given here is a small part of that which our own people's intelligentsia gives and can give. This small part is of such a nature as to fill with profound joy the honest patriotic Bulgarian hearts of every one of us.

It has been stated several times that we are a good and gifted people. Perfectly correct. We are indeed a gifted people, a capable people. We can be and shall be an even better and even more capable people. In the person of Adriana Budevska our people not only honour her creative work — may certain people excuse me — of genius, but also the creative work of the Bulgarian theatre, not only her merits but also those of our theatre. She has created dramatic portraits which none of us will forget and which have served and can serve as a school for our young actors and actresses. In her person we honour all the servants of art in our country — and especially of the art of the theatre — who have shown their love of the homeland, who have resisted many temptations and much coercion, and during the whole period of dark fascist slavery have held high the banner of true people's art — not art for art's sake, but art in the service of the people, art for raising their culture, for their education, art for the advance and progress of our country.

And we have reason to be proud. The names which were mentioned here are indeed a pride of our people, of our country, of the living and older generations, of the young forces which constitute a great cultural asset for our country and our people. It is not surprising that we attach such great importance to art and to the servants of art.

There are people in our country who say that the Communists want to strenthen their Government and for that reason strive to attract capable and gifted people. They give them certain privileges, heap certain honours upon them only to make use of them. There is nothing more at variance with the facts than such views and assertions. The new People's Government is such that it is itself, as a true People's Government, interested in doing everything possible at a given time for the maximum development of the arts, including that of the theatre and opera. We are all doing what lies within our power. Comrade Krustyu Sarafov rightly said that no one has ever done as much as we are doing now. We consider — our Central Committee, the Fatherland Front and its Government — that what we are doing is only a beginning. In this respect we still have much to do, and shall do it. We shall draw upon our limited means and resources, shall make the fullest use of our modest possibilities and shall give and give again for the development of the theatre and opera, and everything that will serve to raise the culture of our people and our youth, as a mighty factor for building the new socialist society in our country.

We do not indulge in demagogy. As Communists and leaders of the people's state, we act thus not because we wish to have an entourage of gifted people. That was what Ferdinand, Boris and others did. They did it, however, not in order to create the necessary conditions for the development of our people and for the flourishing of their culture. They created this entourage to gain their personal ends as exploiters. Whereas we aid men of art and encourage their gifts for the building of socialism in our country. And we shall do this increasingly because we have the deep awareness, we who have come from the people, from the depths — we must say openly — we can best judge what a great and invaluable good thing art is for the people.

I remember how many years ago as a youth of 16 or 17, I set aside several leva from my paltry wage so that after great physical exhaustion I could stand for hours in the gallery of the theatre and enjoy the performan-

ces of Adriana Budevska, of Vassil Kirkov, Vera Ignatieva and others who were acting. With what rapture and exaltation, with what moral satisfaction I returned home and was unable to sleep all night! What emotion, what impulse for work, for study and advance was aroused by these wonderful portraits!

The Communist Party and the Government of the Fatherland Front are deeply aware that ever more must be done for developing the art of our country in all its fields. We have a modest National Theatre, we have not even a building for the Opera. We are now endeavouring to do something, to patch up something, to have a building for opera in the coming year. We now have the possibility of utilising many thousands of talented young people in the theatre, opera and other fields of art. The whole country must be filled with such cultural institutions. There is much work for the old too — they must teach the young, pass on to them their experience. There is a tremendous field of work for the young. You will agree that neither the arts, nor our great task — the building of socialism in our country, can be solely a matter for the Government, the Central Committee of the Party and the National Council of the Fatherland Front. Here a combination of Party and state leadership is needed, of national resources with the initiative, efforts and day-and-night work of the servants of art themselves.

The servants of art, however gifted they may be, however much we value them, must work continually and tirelessly on themselves to be able to advance, because you know that one who does not advance, lags behind and one who lags behind is beaten. The decisive

Demonstration on the occasion of the V Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
Reproduction of the painting by B. Lankov

G. Dimitrov with the Academicians T. Pavlov, S. Kasandzhiev and G. Nadjakov in his office in the building of the Council of Ministers

factor in this respect is that inner force which every man possesses, that love of the people and homeland which burns in the heart and soul of the artist, producer, actor, writer and every man of art and culture.

Gifts do not fall from heaven. Not every one can be an actor like Adriana Budevska, Krustyu Sarafov, Stefan Makedonsky and others. But every gift taken by itself is a capital. If this gift is not developed, if this capital is not used rationally, there will be no result. And you know there are tens and hundreds of people, to say no more, who with difficulty succeed in developing their gifts.

Allow me to tell you, as one older than you are, that there are weak people in our country — both actors and actresses, writers, artists and so on, who think that the sea is knee-deep and that it is sufficient if they have a certain gift. They are more interested in what rank they have, what position they will hold, what role they will play, than in perfecting their gifts in order to take the place which is desirable and of benefit both to them and the whole people. Here there should be no conceit. Conceit is death for man and art. Arrogance is a terrible misfortune. Every day we must increase our skill, judge ourselves, correct our shortcomings and perfect our capacities. They may be 50 or 80 per cent, but by selfcriticism, by working on our weaknesses, by listening to the advice of more competent people, they can reach 90 per cent or more.

I wish to propose a toast to the true, gifted, capable servants of our people's art, who desire to study and increase their skill, who learn from the great masters of the great socialist homeland.

In the field of culture there are no nations great and small in capacities. There are no nations of full value and little value. Every nation, however small it may be, can be capable and make its contribution of values to the common treasury of culture. Our people are small, we are a small country. We are all the more interested in increasing our skill, because even in ten years' time we cannot

boast of such a huge industry as great countries have, of such wealth as other countries possess. We can and should, however, be proud of the feeling that we have a culture in ourselves, that we are creating highly artistic models of art, in general in the field of science our people too can provide models and an examble for many other peoples. We must endeavour, hand in hand — statesmen, Party leaders, servants of art, scientific and other workers, to bring it about that in several years' time the Bulgarian people may everywhere be reckoned and indicated as a really capable, gifted, cultured and exemplary socialist people, taking an active part in creating world socialist culture, headed by the great Soviet Union and together with our brothers in the other People's Democracies.

Speech a. the Dinner given by Georgi Dimitrov on February 20, 1949, on the Jubilee of People's Artist Adriana Budevska.

THE PRESS IS A GREAT FORCE

To the Union of Journalits in Bulgaria

I sincerely thank you for your greetings in connection with the festival of Bulgarian newspapers. I wish you the very best successes in realising your striving to make the newspapers not only good informers, agitators and propagandists of the programme and policy of the Fatherland Front, but at the same time mobilisers and organisers of the Bulgarian people for realising this programme and carrying out this policy.

Bulgarian newspapers and Bulgarian journalists indeed face very serious and responsible tasks. Their fulfilment requires, above all, from the journalists themselves deep devotion to the people, true patriotism and irreproachable honesty, unwavering faith in the power of the people and in the future of the homeland, inseparable ties with the people's masses, knowledge of their needs, demands and views; it is necessary that they themselves should persistently study and raise their journalistic qualifications, know how to write in such a way that every literate reader can without particular effort understand and utilise the content of the newspapers. When a journalist writes, his first duty is to have in view the reader for whom he is writing and always to think — will the average reader be able correctly to understand what is written.

Georgi Dimitrov in Prague visiting a printing press bearing his name, April 26, 1948

The newspapers are obliged to inform, orientate and educate their readers in the spirit of irreconcilable struggle against fascist obscuranticism, against all internal and external enemies of the people, against all open and concealed splitters of the unity of the Fatherland Front They are bound to elucidate correctly the life-throbbing questions of the day as well as home and foreign political events, and not to engage in boulevard sensations and empty word-spinning.

The interests of our people insistently demand that once and for all an end be put to all remnants of the mercenary press of the past. It must not be forgotten that even now not all journalists are safeguarded from the tempting bribes of various kinds offered for their journalistic pen by the agents of our enemies.

The sharpest vigilance and a resolute rebuff to this great evil are all the more necessary.

The press is a great force. With all my heart I wish that honest patriotic Bulgarian journalists may master this force well and place it wholly at the service of new, free and democratic Fatherland Front Bulgaria.

GEORGI DIMITROV

Moscow, 30 May, 1945

TODOR ZHIVKOV

FEARLESS FIGHTER FOR PEACE — AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

It is 70 years since the birth and 3 years since the death of the greatest son of the Bulgarian people, the loyal pupil and companion-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin, the eminent worker in the international labour movement, the beloved guide and teacher of the Bulgarian people — Georgi Dimitrov.

Georgi Dimotrov devoted all his forces and abilities, the whole of his inexhaustible energy and revolutionary ardour to service of the working class, of the cause of socialism and communism, of the fight for peace and friendship among the peoples.

The whole of his life is most closely bound with the struggle of the international workers' and communist movement for peace, against predatory imperialist wars.

At the very beginning of his tireless revolutionary activity Georgi Dimitrov stood out as a passionate and uncompromising fighter for peace. In the years before and during the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913 he mercilessly exposed Great-Bulgarian nationalism and chauvinism, waged an inflexible struggle against the aggressive policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the Coburg dynasty — a vicious agency of German imperialism in our country.

During the First World War, as one of the leaders of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Narrow Socialists) together with the whole Party Georgi Dimitrov waged a most energetic struggle against the drawing of the Bulgarian people into the imperialist war, against general mobilization, against the war credits, for developing at the front and in the rear most extensive propaganda against the war, for building up Party cells in the army. On account of his active revolutionary work against the imperialist war Georgi Dimitrov was thrown into prison, where he spent one year and a half.

Compelled to emigrate from Bulgaria after the defeat of the September uprising in 1923, he became one of the organisers of the international struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

In the days of the Leipzig trial Georgi Dimitrov turned from being the accused into a fearsome revolutionary accuser of the fascist clique headed by Hitler, which was preparing to instigate a second world war, he became a standard-bearer of the struggle of working people throughout the world against fascism and imperialist war.

As General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, under the direct guidance of the great Stalin Georgi Dimitrov fought to create and consolidate the united proletarian front and to unite democratic forces in a people's front for resistance to fascism and the anti-Soviet war prepared by the fascist ruling cliques of Germany, Italy and Japan with the aid of the British and American imperialists.

In the years of the Second World War with indomitable ardour Georgi Dimitrov developed tremendous activity to mobilise all enslaved peoples and those threatened with enslavement, to mobilise all patriotic and progressive forces in the world for armed struggle for the defeat of the German fascist aggressors. He directed the struggle of the Bulgarian Communists, of all patriots in our country who rose arms in hand against the German fascist occupiers.

After the conclusion of the second World War, when new pretenders to world domination appeared — the insolent and irresponsible American imperialists, Georgi Dimitrov to the last hour of his life tirelessly and relentlessly exposed the crazy plans of the American imperialists for world domination, their adventurist plans for the economic, political and ideological enslavement of the world.

On account of his brave, selfless, wholehearted and victorious revolutionary struggle against the enemies of the working class and the whole of progressive humanity, the name of Georgi Dimitrov passed beyond the borders of our homeland — it became a banner of working people throughout the world in the struggle against fascism and war.

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In the whole of his revolutionary activity against imperialist wars, for peace, for overthrowing the capitalist society of exploiters, for people's democracy and socialism, Georgi Dimitrov was unswervingly guided by the great and all-victorious ideas of Marxism—Leninism, by the Leninist—Stalinist teaching on imperialism and proletarian revolution, on war and peace.

Marxism—Leninism teaches that the causes of wars are rooted in the very nature of capitalism, in the very nature of imperialism.

For that reason Georgi Dimitrov always bound the fight for peace, against aggressive imperialist wars, with the fight against fascism and imperialism.

"The fight for peace," he taught us, "is a fight against fascism, a fight against capitalism, a fight for the victory of socialism throughout the world."

Georgi Dimitrov utterly and most mercilessly exposed the bestial essence of fascism as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

"Fascism," he declared at the VIIth Congress of the Comintern, "is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

"Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;

"Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

"Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!"

Bringing out the inner connection between fascism and imperialist war, Georgi Dimitrov warned the peoples that the German fascism of Hitler constituted a direct war threat to all countries in the world, on account of which "the fight against fascism... must be closely bound up with the fight against the threat of war."

American imperialism is today a worthy heir of defeated hitlerite fascism. American imperialism has become a world policeman. It sends its troops to other capitalist countries in order to stifle the peoples' fight for peace and national independence. The American imperialists have introduced a "state of emergency" in the U. S. A., everywhere they are abolishing the remnants of formal bourgeois democratic liberties, implanting fascist police methods of government, savagely suppressing even the slightest anti-war and democratic manifestations. A vivid expression of the bestial man-hating essence of American imperialism are its bloody atrocities and barbarous crimes in Korea.

The British and American imperialists are seeking an escape from the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system in military adventures and intensifying reaction at home in all spheres of social, political and ideological life. They are ready to annihilate mankind with fire and sword only to save their profits, to save their capital, to avert their inescapable destruction.

It is appropriate to recall the words of Georgi Dimitrov addressed to the American and British instigators of a new world war who had loosened their belts, after the pronouncement of the just sentence on the hitlerite degenerates at the Nuremberg court:

"This sentence is a grave warning to the Churchills and all others who after the defeat of Hitler still wish to take his place in the struggle for world domination; a severe, categorical warning to all those who are rattling their sabres, making threats with the atomic bomb, to all instigators of a new aggressive war, in particular against the Soviet Union... The candidates for future Hitlers and Goerings cannot expect a better fate. They will not succeed in making such a long journey — from 1933 to 1945 — as the hitlerites They will reach their Nuremberg much sooner."

The fight of the working people for a lasting peace throughout the world is based on real possibilities created thanks to the historic victories of the Soviet Union.

Proceeding from the Leninist—Stalinist teaching on the inevitable existence of the socialist and capitalist systems for a long period of time, on the necessary and possible peaceful collaboration and rivalry between them, on the role of the people's masses in history, Georgi Dimitrov constantly stressed that the people's masses can avert war. In his closing speech on the conclusion of the VIIth World Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov declared:

"It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the masses of working people can hinder imperialist war by their militant action."

It is inconceivable now that the fight against war, against imperialism should be waged without the peoples.

If the masses of the people "without whom war could not be carried on," wrote Georgi Dimitrov as early as 1936 in his article "The United Front in the Fight for Peace", "were to act *resolutely and promptly* against the war plans of the governments, they could force these governments to renounce war and the abetting of war plotters. The whole thing is to organise the struggle of the peoples for the maintenance of peace in good time and to carry it on continually and everywhere against the fascist warmongers and their backers."

"... They should be cornered in such a way that they are incapable of carrying out their criminal plans. The globe should be encircled with such a network of organisations of the friends of peace, such a mighty movement of international solidarity and such effective measures of a united international policy of the proletariat for the maintenance of peace, as

The Georgi Dimitrov House-Museum in Sofia, where he lived from 1888 to 1923

will effectively tie the dastardly hands of the warmongers."

These words are valid with tremendous force even in the present international situation.

Upright people throughout the world are today rising in an ever bolder and resolute struggle against the fiendish plans of the British and American instigators of a new world war. For the first time in history has such an organised front of peace been created as constitutes the world peace movement headed by the great guardian of peace — the Soviet Union. With every passing day the powerful front of the organised supporters of peace, led by the genius Stalin, is growing and gaining strength. To the growing threat of war the peoples resolutely counterpose their indestructible will to impose peace. They are inspired and guided by the wise words of great Stalin: "Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of peace into their own hands and defend it to the end."

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Tremendous are the services of Georgi Dimitrov in working out the directions of comrade Stalin for creating and strengthening a broad international front for struggle against fascism and war.

As a true and talented Leninist-Stalinist, already in 1923 he worked out the idea of the united front between the working class and the other working people in town and country as the only salutary instrument in the struggle against the onset of fascism, against imperialism and imperialist war.

"Without the United Workers' Front," Georgi Dimitrov then wrote in his article "The United Workers' Front", "without the joint action of all proletarians and working people in town and country against capitalism, one can neither beat off the brazen onslaught of capital, nor overthrow bestial fascism, not avert a new imperialist war, nor, finally, secure the triumph of the liberating proletarian revolution."

Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist teaching under the direct and closest guidance of comrade Stalin, at the VIIth World Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov worked out the strategy and tactics of the Communists in the fight against fascism and imperialist war, developed and thoroughly grounded the general line for creating and developing a broad anti-war front not only of the Communist vanguard, but also of the whole ot the international working class and of the peoples of all conntries, a front which was to embrace all parts of the world. from Tokio to London, from New York to Berlin.

Georgi Dimitrov taught that the backbone of the broad popular front against war and fascism is and can be only the working class — the most progressive class of society, which alone is capable of rallying all strata of the working people and leading them to struggle against war. In order to fulfil its historic tasks, however, it is necessary for the working class to unite its ranks, to effect its unity, it is necessary for the united front of the working class to be built up. At the VIIth Congress of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov set the task: "The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-attack against fascism, against the class enemy." This unity of the working class will have great influence on the peasants, the town petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, will strengthen their faith in the strength of the working class.

Georgi Dimitrov waged a passionate and relentless struggle against the splitters of the working class — the leaders of the right-wing Social-Democratic Parties, and branded with the stamp of shame those traitors to the cause of the working class and socialism, those base lackeys of the bourgeoisie and collaborators of imperialist banditry. And today, when the finance magnates of Wall Street are striving for world domination, the right-wing Socialist leaders, as contemptible servants of American and British imperialism, cloaking their base treachery with phraseology about democracy and peace, are coming forward as the direct defenders and propagandists of the ideology of American imperialism, are endeavouring to disunite the international labour movement. The struggle for unity of the international working class today, for unity of all democratic and progressive forces in the fight for peace, is inconceivable without resolute exposure of the right-wing Socialist leaders and their actions directed against the workers and against the people.

A driving force, a uniting link in the ranks of the working class and the united front of the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the intelligentsia in the fight against fascism and war — taught Georgi Dimitrov — are and must be the Communist parties, who alone point out to the masses the path of their salvation from reaction, wars, hunger and want. The building up of the united front, the mobilisation and rousing of the masses of the people for struggle against fascism and war can be achieved only with the unity, revolutionary solidarity and militant readiness of the Communist parties.

As General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern Georgi Dimitrov took special care to consolidate the Communist parties, to turn them into "healthy, militant Communist parties, parties which are bound by thousands of threads with the masses; parties armed with a progressive revolutionary theory, parties capable in a Bolshevik way of learning in struggle for victory on the basis of the experience of the great party of Lenin and Stalin" (G. Dimitrov).

During the years of the Second World War the Communist Parties headed the armed struggle of the working people against the hitlerite occupiers. With their chests Communists defended the interests of the working class and working people. The broad masses of the people increasingly became aware that Communists have no other interests apart from serving the cause of the proletariat, the cause of the working people. In the years of and after the Second World War the authority and influence of the Communist parties in all countries, including also in most of the capitalist countries, grew exceedingly greatly, the number of their members increased. "The growth of the influence of Communists — comrade Stalin stated in 1946 — should not be considered something accidental. It is an entirely natural phenomenon. The influence of Communists has increased because during the hard years of the domination of fascism in Europe Communists showed themselves to be reliable, brave, selfless fighters against the fascist regime, for the freedom of the peoples." In several countries Communist parties became a tremendous force, became militant mass parties which are leading behind them the majority of the working people.

The imperialist bourgeoisie feels mortal fear of the Communist parties and is taking the course of outlawing the Communist parties in a number of capitalist countries, is arresting members of their leaderships, imprisoning and shooting workers and peasants — members of the Communist Party. The indignation and angry protest of the French working people and of the whole of progressive mankind is, ever increasing at the illegal arrest and detention of comrade André Stil, chief editor of "l'Humanité" and a number of other French patriots and fighters for peace.

"Communists cannot forget," Georgi Dimitrov said, "that... the bourgeoisie will use the most unscrupulous means against them

will not only resort to direct violence and vicious beating up, but also to every kind of blackmail and provocation. It will strive by every means to smash the Communist vanguard, by isolating it from the broad masses of the working people and in that way restraining the movement against war and capitalism."

The terrorist acts against Communist parties dictated by the American imperialists, however, are doomed to inevitable failure. The broad masses of the working people are roused by the assaults of reaction to struggle in defence of the Communist parties, for they are increasingly aware that defence of the Communists is a vital matter for themselves too.

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Georgi Dimitrov always bound the fight against predatory imperialist wars, the fight for peace, with love and affection for the U. S. S. R.

From the day of the birth of the great socialist state Georgi Dimitrov with revolutionary passion implanted in the hearts and minds of the Communist parties and the broad masses of working people deep, invincible love and affection for the Soviet Union and comrade Stalin, many times stressing that the watershed between the enemies and friends of the people, of peace and socialism was their attitude to the U. S. S. R. and the C. P. S. U. (B).

"The touchstone," said Georgi Dimitrov, "in checking the sincerity and honesty of every individual active in the working class movement, of every working class party and organisation of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countries, is their attitude toward the great land of socialism. You cannot carry on a real struggle against fascism if you do not render all possible assistance in strengthening the most important buttress of this struggle against the

The House-Museum : part of Georgi Dimitrov's library

fascist instigators of a new world bloodlath, if you do not render undivided support to the U. S. S. R., a most important factor in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for socialism in your own country, if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet State, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic efforts of the working people."

The idea of eternal, sincere and true friendship between our people and the peoples of the Soviet Union was very close and dear to Georgi Dimitrov, it had become his flesh and blood.

He continually stressed that our development, our happy future as a people and state was fully dependent on the friendship of our people with the peoples of the great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Every other path leads to undermining the bases of our people's democratic state, to its enslavement by the British and American plunderers, as happened with Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and a number of other countries.

Upon the very first anti-Soviet manifestations by Traicho Kostov, Georgi Dimitrov perceived in him not only intellectual individualism and greedy careerism, but also a refined, sly and subtle scoundrel. He condemned his anti-Party and anti-Soviet activity and helped the Central Committee in the discovery, exposure and defeat of Traicho Kostov and his band.

Educated and inspired by the example of Georgi Dimitrov, by his boundless devotion and loyalty to the U. S. S. R., the C P. S. U. (B) and great Stalin, Bulgaria's working people are ever increasingly strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which is becoming the flesh and blood of every honest Bulgarian man and woman. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is a fruit of the inmost longings of our people and as Georgi Dimitrov said, "there is not and there cannot be any sound-thinking Bulgarian loving his homeland, who is not convinced that sincere friendship with the U. S. S R. is not less necessary for the national independence and flourishing of Bulgaria than the sun and air for every living being."

Love and affection for the Soviet Union, the C. P. S. U. (B) and great Stalin inspires and organises the working people in our country in struggle for peace and socialism.

In the fight for peace, democracy and socialism Georgi Dimitrov held high the banner of proletarian internationalism. Having grown up as a consistent proletarian internationalist, he tirelessly exposed the Bulgarian nationalists. Already in 1911, one year before the Balkan War began, in the article "Let Us Be Ready", he wrote: "Peace in the Balkan peninsula is theatened... The nationalist and chauvinist bourgeoisie in the Balkan countries themselves and specially in Bulgaria... are pouring fat on the fire. The swords are rattling, the masses are being incited in a chauvinistic spirit, spirits are being prepared for war, the Balkan peoples are being pushed toward ruinous catastrophes..."

From the platform of the Fifth Congress of our Party Georgi Dimitrov exposed the treason of Tito's nationalist clique to the cause of socialism and the united anti-imperialist front, and branded its activity with the shame of treachery

"The nationalist policy of the Tito group is increasingly alienating Yugoslavia from the U. S. S. R. and the people's democratic republics, and subjects it more and more to the danger of falling into the clutches of greedy imperialism. Our Party watches with great chagrin the degeneration of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party into a bourgeois-chauvinist clique hostile to communism."

The reality fully confirmed this statement of Georgi Dimitrov. Today an anti-Communist, police state regime of a fascist type has been established in Yugoslavia.

The Tito-Rankovich fascist clique has liquidated the democratic social gains of the Yugoslav people and restored capitalism in Yugoslavia in the interests of the foreign monopolists and the home bourgeoisie, and has become an active and vicious provocator of wars in the Balkans.

In its treason and downfall the Tito fascist band of provocateurs and murderers made vile slanders against our late guide and teacher Georgi Dimitrov and tried to counterpose the name and cause of Georgi Dimitrov to the leadership of our Party, of the country, of the Soviet Union.

These refined scoundrels behave exactly as once did their fellows — the Trotskyists, who after the death ol Lenin tried to counterpose Lenin and Leninism to the leadership of the C. P. S. U. (B) headed by comrade Stalin.

The blood-stained hirelings of Wall Street are enraged at the great successes of the homeland of Dimitrov. They cannot find rest from the fact that the working people in our country, fulfilling the behests of their immortal guide, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by comrade Vulko Chervenkov, are successfully building socialism in town and country.

With vile slanders against our late leader, the Tito-Rankevich band aim to confuse the

The House-museum : Georgi Dimitrov's study

backward strata in Yugoslavia, to conceal from them their treachery and fascist face

There can be no doubt that with these repulsive slanders the Belgrade band will not succeed in deceiving the Yugoslav peoples just as it will not succeed in deceiving them that it is building socialism.

The working people of all countries, including the working people of Yugoslavia, know Georgi Dimitrov very well as an uncompromising fighter against all nationalism, as boundlessly devoted to the great Soviet Union and comrade Stalin

Our Party, educated by Georgi Dimitrov in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to the homeland, does not for an instant forget the words of its guide, that:

"... Although the Communist International does not exist, the Communist parties constitute a united international Communist front under the leadership of the most powerful party of Lenin and Stalin, a party tested in the struggle against capitalism and in the building of socialism; that all Communist Parties have a single scientific theory as a guide to action — Marxism-Leninism, and they all have a common, universally recognised guide and teacher — comrade Stalin."

In internationalism, in international co-operation led by great Stalin our Party sees the sole sure guarantee for the prosperity of our country and its forward advance along the road of socialism.

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After the September 9 people's uprising, as an experienced and farsighted helmsman Georgi Dimitrov firmly and confidently directed our country along the path of eternal and indestructible friendship with the great Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies, along the path of peace, democracy and socialism. Georgi Dimitrov unswervingly conducted the whole of his many-sided activity as state and Party leader, as founder and builder of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and all measures for the socialist reconstruction of the country — under the sign of peace and peaceful co-operation between the peoples, of sincere Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, of building the happy future of our people.

Under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov all brazen attempts of the British and Ame-

rican imperialists to interfere in our internal affairs were firmly repulsed. With the profound wisdom of a statesman, with iron will and persistence Georgi Dimitrov waged the struggle for concluding an acceptable peace treaty worthy of the Bulgarian people, for defending the national independence and state sovereignty of the country. Thanks to the invaluable aid of the Soviet Union, which in the person of comrade Molotov raised a powerful voice in defence of the interests and rights of the Bulgarian people, on February 10, 1947, Bulgaria signed the most favourable peace treaty possible in the existing circumstances, upheld its national independence and territorial integrity regularised and consolidated its international position, took a worthy place in the family of freedom-loving and democratic peoples. People's Democratic Bulgaria won the recognition of all states, it established regular diplomatic relatons with almost all countries with which such relations had been maintained before the war, and above all with the Soviet Union and the countries of the democratic camp.

The fraternal alliance and friendship of our country with the great Soviet Union and the People's Democracies found clear international expression and confirmation in the treaties for friendship, co-operation and mutual aid concluded w ith these countries. The treaty for friendship, co-operation and mutual aid between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Sovet Union signed on March 18, 1948, in Moscow in the presence of comrade Stalin by comrades Georgi Dimitrov and Vyacheslav Molotov, constitutes the surest guarantee of the freedom and independence of our homeland, a pledge of the successful building of socialism in our country.

Thanks to the tireless cares and efforts of Georgi Dimitrov, to his wise leadership and tremendous experience as a statesman, with the fraternal support of the Soviet Union, from being a backward country in an international respect, from being a tool of German imperialism and a country enslaved by the hitlerites, — the condition to which the monarcho-fascist clique and the venal Bulgarian bourgeoisie had reduced it — Bulgaria was transformed into a free and independent country, with an assured international position into a country with more sincere and devoted friends that it had ever had in the past.

Following the path of the ever greater political and economic consolidation of the people's democratic state, of the continual increase of its economic and defensive power, our country took its inflexible stand in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, and under the Bolshevik leadership of Georgi Dimitrov became an active factor in the world fight for peace, in "one of the leading detachments of the mighty army of democracy and peace" (G. Dimitrov).

In front of the coffin with the body of Georgi Dimitrov, comrade Vulko Chervenkov gave a solemn vow on behalf of the whole Party, that we shall selflessly proceed along the path traced by Georgi Dimitrov, that we shall relentlessly follow his behests.

Under the leadership of comrade Vulko Chervenkov — the talented pupil and continuer of the cause of Georgi Dimitrov, our Party is firmly and unswervingly fulfilling the dear behests of Dimitrov. With every day that passes our friendship with the great land of socialism and with the People's Democracies is growing ever stronger. our country is even more actively and resolutely participating in the world fight for peace, for frustrating the sinister plans of the American and British warmongers

The working people in our country take as their daily guidance the direction of comrade Vulko Chervenkov, that: "Our people will participate in the campaign in defence of peace with all the greater energy and all the more usefully, the greater are the energy and success with which it strengthens its state in every respect, the greater the all-round upsurge and prosperity of its national economy."

Carrying out the peace-loving policy bequeathed us by Georgi Dimitrov, we are achieving ever greater successes in all spheres of our political, economic and cultural life, the alliance of the working class with the working peasants is growing ever stronger, the moral and political unity of the working people in our country is growing. These major successes, clearly and convincingly reflected in the remarkable report of comrade Vulko Chervenkov to the Third Congress of the Fatherland Front, show that "engrossed in peaceful and peace-loving constructive work at home, we are exactly, unreservedly and consistently fulfilling the behests of Georgi Dimitrov, that the peaceful creative policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government is a correct policy" (V. Chervenkov).

The peaceful policy conducted by the Party and the People's Government, the policy of indissoluble friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, is a guarantee of our further successes.

Under the victorious banner of the Stalinist peace-loving policy, along the road traced by Georgi Dimitrov, our people, led by the beloved Vulko Chervenkov, will continue to march irresistibly forward, from victory to victory, to the shining heights of socialism and communism.

Georgi Dimitrov in Czechoslovakia in 1948

FEODOR GLADKOV

THE MIGHTY MAN

The death of Georgi Dimitrov is a tremendous loss not only for the Bulgarian people but also for the whole of progressive mankind. The working class of the whole world, the whole of working mankind grieves the loss of this mighty man. Legends and songs about him as a people's leader and hero were created long ago and his name has inspired the love of all working people. Unforgettable are those days when, seized by the hitlerite bandits, with crushing blows he smashed and unmasked fascism and overthrew all the provocatory intrigues of hitlerite justice.

I remember him as an ardent revolutionary, as a man full of the joy of life, when shortly after the Leipzig trial he spent a whole evening in the company of Soviet writers. He spoke at length about literature, of its function as a force influencing people, of its tremendous educative importance. He spoke with love of Chernishevsky and his ageless novel "What Must Be Done?". Rakhmetov was his favourite hero all his life.

I remember him on the day when he gave the report at the Congress of the Comintern. Passionately, with indomitable force he called for struggle against fascism.

After the Great Patriotic War I visited Bulgaria. I was in various parts of the country — in towns and villages, in partisan regions — and everywhere I saw the pride and boundless love with which they repeated the name of Georgi Dimitrov. He embodied the hopes, dreams and strivings of the Bulgarian people. After the name of Stalin, Dimitrov's name rang here as the symbol of the freedom and happiness of the people.

I met him more than once in recent years too. In personal conversation he was just as movingly simple, profound and cordial. His good-natured, slightly confused yet bright and youthful smile captivated everyone. So that every word he spoke seemed not only significant and wise, but very cordial, like the words of a man with a deep knowledge of the human soul.

Georgi Dimitrov is a people's hero of our great times. His memory will never fade in our hearts.

"Literaturnaya Gazeta"

6 July, 1949

PAUL ELUARD

HE FOUGHT FOR ALL

In 1933 Georgi Dimitrov proudly replied to the President of the Leipzig Court:

"I am a Social-Democrat and will show you what that means in my speech".

For the communist Dimitrov it meant victory of truth over falsehood, victory of the people over their oppressors, of honest people over bandits.

For Dimitrov being a Social-Democrat meant to be capable of fighting against all the forces of darkness, for the light, for freedom and justice, for human progress.

The light and strength which lay in Georgi Dimitrov and sprang up in him like a torrent, lie and are frequenty seen in all men, in all women. Only in him the light was purer, the strength better applied. And what Dimitrov stated in front of the despicable Nazi court, resounded throughout the world with an unprecedented echo. He saw for all, he

spoke for all, he fought for all. He was our common voice — more just and louder.

Dimitrov was a lasting flash of lightning in the continuous movement of human light. To brute force he opposed conscience. To the transient power of the monsters, he cast like a call to struggle the words of Hristo Botev, poet and fighter and, like himself, a Bulgarian national hero:

"There is no power over a head which is prepared to part from its shoulders in the name of freedom and for the good of all mankind".

From the Mourning Brochure published by the French Committee for Honouring the Memory of Georgi Dimitrov

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ANNA KARAVAYEVA

COMRADE AND BROTHER

In the person of Georgi Mikhailov Dimitrov the working people and the Communist Party of the Bulgarian People's Democratic Republic have lost a true son of their homeland, the leader of the new life. The Soviet Union has lost a devoted friend of our great fatherland. The international workers' movement has lost an eminent fighter for peace, freedom and democracy.

His life was brilliant, mighty!... Georgi Dimitrov joined the revolutionary wing of Bulgarian Social-Democracy in his earliest years. At the time of the split in the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party he resolutely took the side of the revolutionary "Narrow" Socialists. Thus Georgi Dimitrov chose the uphill path, full of privations and dangers, of the life of a professional revolutionary, an organiser of the workers, passionate agitator and propagandist of the revolution. His fine and at the same time very typical biography of a revolutionary is an example of high service of the people. It will inspire many writers, poets, artists and composers; about such grand heroes of the struggle for the happiness and freedom of the working people the people compose legends and sing songs.

The Leipzig trial turned out to be a gross political mistake and defeat for the hitlerite bandits. They expected to see on the prisoner's bench a disarmed captive who would beg them for mercy. But Georgi Dimitrov turned the prisoner's bench into the tribune for an implacable exposure of fascism, into a tribune of revolutionary agitation. Encircled by fascist bayonets, he proudly and fearlessly called himself a friend of the Soviet Union and lauded the indisputable rightness of Communist actions and ideas.

Faced with this high example of revolutionary daring and inflexible Bolshevik will, millions of honest-thinking working people of all countries and peoples said: "See what fighters are born by Communism! Victory will be ours!"

I remember at the beginning of spring in 1934 a stout elderly man rushed into my room like a youth, joyfully shouting: "Hurrah! Georgi Dimitrov is here in Moscow!"

The meeting with Georgi Dimitrov in the Writers' Club left us Moscow writers with unforgettable memories. Everything about the man was so simple and movingly striking: his face, his glance, his voice, his manner of speaking!... He explained how profoundly Russia's great literature had influenced him. In the heroic figures, the progressive thoughts and strivings of the favourite works, especially those of the revolutionary democratic wing of Russian literature, the young worker found inspiring examples for his moral and ideological steeling. Georgi Dimitrov spoke with love of the heroes of Chernishevsky's novel "What Must Be Done?" We listened spellbound to the wonderful fiery words on classical Russian literature coming from the lips of this eminent fighter for the happiness of mankind, and we experienced a heightened sense of exacting and conscious pride that we Soviet writers are the heirs and continuers of the best traditions of Russia's great literature.

Tremendous is the loss inflicted on us by merciless death. Georgi Dimitrov is no more! But the lofty and inspiring example of his

struggle, the wonderful feat of his life remains. The historic deeds he commenced together with the Bulgarian Communist Party and the whole people remain. Many gifted and remarkable people, trained by Georgi Dimitrov, remain in the ranks of the glorious Bulgarian Communist Party and shall continue his work with honour. The working people in Bulgaria know that they have a mighty and wise friend — the great guide of the Soviet people, comrade J. V. Stalin. With the whole of his heroie life Georgi Dimitrov bequeathed to the Bulgarian people true and devoted love to the genius of Stalin. fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. It is not without reason that in the sad words of the announcement on behalf of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (b) and the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R. one reads — our comrade and brother. In the person of Georgi Dimitrov the Soviet people loved a comrade and brother.

"Literaturnaya Gazeta"

July 6, 1949

Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov

IVAN RUZH

GREAT CREATOR OF A CULTURE

The building up of our new people's democratic culture which is socialist in its essence, will forever remain bound up with the immortal name of the teacher and guide of the Bulgarian people, the founder and inspirer of the Fatherland Front, the brilliant Bulgarian Bolshevik Communist, the ever regretted late Georgi Dimitrov.

A true pupil of Lenin and Stalin, he first developed and applied on Bulgarian soil with unusual sweep and profound understanding the Leninist-Stalinist teaching on culture. With fiery persuasiveness he more than once stressed that the new culture is not destined for a narrow circle of specialists, snobs, owners of literary anthologies, rich purchasers of articles and human souls, but is a culture of the people, of those who in the towns and villages, in the factories and fields, in offices and institutions do not spare their labour for the building of the new life for constructing the new society of socialism, of man freed from century-old oppression and fierce exploitation.

He wished and did everything in order to draw the many-millioned people's strata into this new culture, which an iron broom cleansed of the self-contemplative and pointless aesthetics of self-indulgent pleasure. He wished the new people's democratic socialist culture to teach and train the people's masses, to inspire them along the road of socialist construction, to strengthen and steel their will for overcoming all difficulties and obstacles along this road, not an easy one, but one leading upward to the shining heights of communism.

"By your artistic production help to train cadres of revolutionaries," he said in 934 on his arrival in Moscow, addressing Soviet writers.

These unfading words like mountain honey in a honeycomb fill with fine thought the essence and content of the new people's democratic socialist culture. It is not a quiet heaven for idyllic excursions in calm waters. It is a front of struggle, a cultural front where a battle is being fought for the victory of the new over the old.

"There must be an iron ideological broom to clear out all that is decayed, fascist, reactionary, obscurantist, poisoning the air of our cultural front," he said in a talk with library club leaders in 1946.

Here the Party character of the new culture, socialist in content, people's democratic in form, is stressed with unique clarity. It is irreconcilable with anything which drags backward. It is a culture which leads only forward, a culture of the future, the bases of which we have laid in our country under his wise leadership and shall continue to lay with redoubled efforts, with threefold enthusiasm, with a vow that we shall stop at nothing, neither in the face of the slanderous propaganda of the enemies, nor in the face of the faint-heartedness of the timorous and weak, nor in the face of difficulties.

Like metal which does not dull with time, his advice to writers, artists, theatre and library club workers, journalists, amateur artists and printers, professors, labourers, teachers, men of science will shine before all creators of our new culture, will inspire them and direct them.

No one so far has stressed as he did the significance and role of the intelligentsia in building up the new culture and in general in the life of our country.

"The intelligentsia, especially in countries like our own, has to play a very important role... An absolutely new attitude to the intelligentsia is needed"... he would say.

He taught us that "in the field of culture there are no nations great and small in capacities. There are no nations of full value and little value. Every nation, however small it may be, can be capable and make its own contribution of values to the common treasury of culture... we can and should be, however, proud of the feeling that we have a culture in ourselves, that we are creating highly artistic models of art, that in general in the field of science our people too can provide models and an example for many other peoples."

What wonderful horizons, what boundless perspectives are revealed by these winged words for the new, the socialist development of our culture! It is being built and will be just as he pledged — Bulgarian, our own, native in form, socialist and international in content.

Its springs will be deep in the people where more than one jewel of creative talent, of masters and builders of cultural values lie hid. He taught us, he bequeathed us to bind ourselves continuously with the people, to know how to seek out those people's jewels, to care for them as the gardener watches over the fruit-tree shoots, that they should grow, blossom richly and fill the garden of our

"Sun over the Homeland". Reproduction of the painting by Nikola Mirchev

culture with cultural fruits breathing aroma and shining with beauty.

He taught cultural workers to work ceaselessly upon themselves, not to sleep over their gifts.

"A man who is not himself cultured cannot be a bearer of culture amid the population:" he told cultural workers.

He was able, as no one in our country, to see, to value and to take pride in the achievements of our culture. With the high sense of a great internationalist and patriot in his concluding speech in Parliament on December 13, 1946, he stressed the names of our eminent cultural workers — writers, scholars, artists, musicians and actors — as our national pride. With pain at heart he said that our country was still very poor and could not set aside sufficient resources for encouraging our cultural workers and especialy the young cultural cadres. He loved Bulgarian culture, people's democratic and socialist in the tendencies of its new development, and at the same time did not detach it and isolate it from "the creation of the world socialist culture headed by the great Soviet Union and together with our brothers in the other People's Democracies". He was a truly great creator, a builder of a new socialist culture in our country.

And he bequeathed us crystal examples of a correct Party, statesmanlike and personal attitude to our cultural socialist construction and cultural workers.

"Otechestven Front"

July 6, 1949

PAVEL VEZHINOV

THE GRIEF OF MANKIND

Endless is the day of sorrow, endless the night. Over mighty Moscow the ether vibrates bearing the breathless high-pitched note of the telegraph: "... the death... of our comrade and brother, Georgi Mikhailovich Dimitrov." The thick net of wireless waves spreads over the land bristling with countless aerials, and at once breaks into scores of tongues — difficult Hindu patois, melodious Mexican dialects, French, Finnish, Czech, Hungarian: "...the death... of our comrade and brother, Georgi Mikhailovich Dimitrov."

Somewhere on the shores of the Pacific Ocean which evenly breathes calm seas and mists, is a small guardhouse. Leonid Kotlyarenko, soldier of the Soviet Army, stands there on duty and his keen gaze scans the far horizons. It is evening, the ocean swell is abating, the white seagulls piercingly scream — for the dark clouds gathering in the distance herald a storm.

Leonid Kotlyarenko watches. Nothing escapes his eye.

Breathless and alarmed, sergeant Golub comes running to the post. His eyes are dim and his brow deeply furrowed. Kotlyarenko's heart quakes with evil foreboding.

"Announcement of the Central Committee!" the sergeant calls out from afar, "Georgi Mikhailovich has died!"

Somewhere on the shores of the Pacific Ocean which evenly breathes to the shore its waves and coolness, Kotlyarenko the fighter pays tribute. The far horizon has darkened, the seagulls piercingly scream and the five-pointed star of the guardhouse sternly shines in the sun's last rays.

Somewhere in southern seas a Dutch steamer slowly skirts the Indonesian islands. Rubber and tin lie in its holds, its cisterns smell of grease. Somewhere in the distance the cocoa coasts are lost to view in the midsummer haze and the palmtrees gently sway.

Redfaced and apoplectic, captain Erik van Holden stands on the bridge alone and absently looks at the sea.

The wireless operator, a tousle-haired fair-eyed youth with a rather pale, determined face, runs up the ladder. He gravely salutes and says:

"On behalf of the crew, sir, I ask you to order the ship's flag to be lowered in token of mourning... Georgi Dimitrov, the first fighter against fascism, has died in Moscow..."

Van Holden is well aware who Georgi Dimitrov is... He replies drily:

"I can't understand why you think so much of Dimitrov . . . What has he to do with Holland?"

At that moment his gaze falls on the deck and he catches his breath The whole crew has come up from below — a wall of blue

Georgi Dimitrov resting at the "Borovikha" sanatorium, 1948

sailor jerseys, stout muscles, tense faces — and every eye is fixed on him coldly and resolutely.

Despite the hot summer day, van Holden shudders. He gives a short word of command and over the blue southern sea, under the white cupola of the summer sky the steamer's siren blows a long low note, a lonely mournful hoot to the heavens. The ship's flag flutters and falls to half-mast.

On board the Dutch steamer dozens of strong men remove their sailor berets and observe silence with dimmed eyes, while the desolate blast of the ship's siren carries over the sea. For a moment van Holden hesitates, looks at the living wall of men, then raises his arm in salute.

Captain Erik van Holden pays tribute to the late fighter against fascism.

Somewhere far off in the dry cold steppes of Patagonia, Peter Stoilov, Bulgarian peasant from Troyan county, lives in a small shanty reeking of oil. He now wears cotton overalls and his face is black with oilstains. On this memorable day he is on the second shift at the new well, where oil springs from the earth's bowels with irresistible force. On this memorable day a delegation comes to him — oilstained workers like himself, with the same lean grimy faces, the same work-hardened

Georgi Dimitrov and Vulko Chervenkov greeting a parade on May 24, 1948

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